

Israeli Government Faces Split In Dispute Over Cabinet Posts

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — Israel's national unity government faced its first serious internal threat Tuesday as a small religious party left the government coalition in a dispute over the allocation of cabinet posts.

The Sephardic Tora Guardians, or Shas, party, rebuffed appeals by Prime Minister Shimon Peres and left the government Tuesday morning when the resignation from the cabinet of its leader, Yitzhak Peretz, became effective.

The Shas party holds only four seats in Israel's 120-member parliament, the Knesset, and its departure alone could not bring about the disintegration of the three-month-old coalition government. But Shas is allied with and supported by the Likud bloc, one of the two principal partners in the coalition that also threatened to leave the government if a compromise is not found.

Likud ministers in the government scheduled a meeting for Thursday to decide their next step.

In the developing political struggle, "Now we are facing a crisis," said Yitzhak Shamir, the Likud leader who is serving as foreign minister and vice prime minister. Mr. Shamir said the Likud and Shas had made "the maximum concessions to settle the crisis," but that all of their "far-reaching solutions" had been rejected by Mr. Peres's Labor Alignment, the other major party in the national unity coalition government.

Asked if the government was in danger of falling over what is essentially a fight over patronage and control of religious affairs budgets between two small religious parties, Mr. Shamir replied, "The government is in danger."

Mr. Shamir cut short by one day a trip to South America and returned to Israel this week to take part in a series of frantic efforts to resolve the dispute and prevent the first open rupture in the government. He said Tuesday that he expected other Likud ministers who are out of the country, including Ariel Sharon, who has been in New York since early November to pursue his libel suit against Time magazine, to return for the meeting of top Likud officials later this week.

If the Likud goes through with its threat to follow Shas out of the government, Labor and its allies would face a difficult task in forming a new government with the other parties in parliament. It was precisely because July's elections have left both Labor and the Likud unable to form a government with their natural allies in parliament that the two main parties agreed to share power and formed the national unity government in September. Thus, Tuesday's move by Shas could conceivably lead to new elections.

However, even as Shas resigned Tuesday, Labor Party officials continued to express optimism that the government would be preserved. "All the needs that created this government are still there," said Moshe Shalal of Labor, the minister of energy.

The dispute that triggered the political crisis has been building since the government took office in September. It centers on a tug-of-war between Shas and a rival religious party, the National Religious Party, for control of Israel's Interior and Religious Affairs ministries.

During the seven weeks of post-election negotiations last summer, Shas, a new party made up of orthodox Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries, was promised the Religious Affairs Ministry by the Likud. Labor promised the NRP, which was once Israel's dominant religious party but is now in decline, that it would retain control of both Religious Affairs and Interior as it had in the previous Likud-led government.

When the national unity government was formed, Mr. Peres promised these contradictory pledges by temporarily assuming control himself of the two disputed ministries while promising to work out a solution. The arrangement he arrived at recently would give the larger and more powerful Interior Ministry to Shas, while allowing the NRP to remain in charge, as it has since Israel was created in 1948, of the Religious Affairs Ministry.

However, the NRP demanded and won from Mr. Peres an agreement to transfer control of the budgets of local religious councils from Interior to Religious Affairs as part of the deal. It was on this point that Shas balked, insisting that as a religious party it must play some role in religious affairs in the government and not be left with only the secular activities of the Interior Ministry.



Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, seated, conferring with Theodoros Pangalos, the Greek deputy foreign minister, during the Common Market meeting in Brussels.

Spain Rejects Terms After EC's Agreement

BRUSSELS — The European Community agreed Tuesday on its terms for Spanish and Portuguese membership but was immediately told that Spain wanted major concessions.

Greece lifted its objections to the terms, clearing the way for final accession negotiations. But it still threatens to veto Spanish and Portuguese entry unless the 10-nation trading bloc agrees to an aid program for the Mediterranean region.

Foreign Minister Fernando Morán of Spain accused the EC of planning the enlargement without regard for the interests of the Spanish people. He commented after the group's foreign ministers presented him with conditions covering wine and fish, the last major issues in the talks.

Spain had rejected in advance Tuesday's community proposal to deny its large fishing fleet access to Common Market waters for 15 years. Madrid also challenges EC plans to curb imports of Spanish fruit, vegetables and olive oil for many years before the 10 open their borders completely.

Mr. Morán said Spain had already made major concessions during the long negotiations on entry and would not accept indefinitely the conditions the community sought to impose.

"Membership by January 1, 1986, is still possible. But the limit to our ability to make concessions is in sight," he said, adding that the stalemate had caused "national frustration" in Spain.

"Our objective remains European integration," Mr. Morán said. "But the world is big and we're not going to have the community interfere with our policies merely for the sake of membership."

Willeen van Eekelen, the Dutch secretary of state for European affairs, said he hoped Mr. Morán's "blast" would convince the 10 that entry talks were a give-and-take process, made of compromises.

"Morán indicated the ball was now in our court," he said. "I think he's right and we must now adapt our positions."

Talks between the European Commission and the Iberian states were continuing, and Mr. Morán said he thought they would settle problems on Spain's steel industry, car imports and import duties on Tuesday.

He said the aim was now to start drafting accession treaties in January and complete the talks in time for a formal adoption by community leaders at their next summit, in March in Brussels, leaving nine months for ratification by all member parliaments.

In other community action Tuesday, the ministers agreed to replace more than 70 customs documents with a single form from Jan. 1, 1988, in order to speed up border bureaucracy, which is costing \$12 billion a year.

Diplomats said that, after two years of debate, EC industry, economy and other ministers had approved a 48-section questionnaire that will collect all data required by national authorities.

The document, which includes information about the product, country of origin and destination as well as data of statistical value, could also be used for a computerized customs procedure, the diplomats said.

They said a three-year transition period was needed to allow national authorities and companies to get used to the new document and adjust their computer software.

Reagan Cuts Defense Plan By \$28 Billion in 3 Years

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan will propose to Congress a \$28-billion reduction over three years in his planned arms buildup, the chief White House spokesman announced Tuesday.

The proposal, which will be part of his fiscal 1986 budget plan, is far less than would be needed to meet his goal of halving the federal deficit by 1988.

Larry Speakes, the spokesman, said President Reagan had decided to reduce planned spending for defense by \$8.7 billion in fiscal 1986, the next budget year.

He said this reduction was \$700 million more than the budget director, David A. Stockman, and many other senior budget aides had sought.

However, Mr. Speakes acknowledged that the three-year reduction total was far less than what these senior budget aides had sought. Over the three years, the defense spending slowdowns will total \$28.1 billion. Mr. Stockman had said Pentagon spending would have to come down \$58 billion over three years to achieve the administration's goal of a \$100-billion overall deficit reduction.

The three-year total also seemed likely to leave Republican congressional leaders dissatisfied as they try to build support for the larger spending cuts in domestic programs that Mr. Reagan has tentatively approved.

Previously, Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger had offered to make trims in his defense budgets of only \$19 billion over the next three years.

Mr. Weinberger said Tuesday that all major weapons systems, including the MX missile, would escape cuts. He termed the president's recommendation "an extremely satisfactory result."

Mr. Weinberger presented his revised \$313.7-billion budget plan Tuesday, United Press International reported. It showed that the reduction was made by lowering the proposed military pay raise from 6 percent to 4 percent, to save about \$1 billion; cutting civilian salaries 5 percent; slicing \$2.5 billion from weapons costs without canceling any programs but a torpedo, and saving \$900 million through lower inflation and fuel cost estimates.

[The \$313.7 billion in budget authority represents a cutback of \$11.1 billion from the \$324.8 billion that Mr. Weinberger had originally planned. Within that total is \$277.5 billion for spending in fiscal 1986 only — \$8.7 billion less than the original \$286.2 billion.

Mr. Weinberger said his new budget represents 5.6 percent in real growth over this year's \$292 billion budget. The White House put the after-inflation growth figure at 6.4 percent.]

President Reagan, aiming to cut the federal deficit, has tentatively approved nearly \$34 billion in domestic spending cuts for fiscal 1986.

This year, fiscal 1985, the deficit is running at more than \$200 billion.

Mr. Speakes insisted that Mr. Reagan had not abandoned his goal of reducing the deficit, but gave no indication of how he planned to reach it with the decision outlined Tuesday.

Mr. Reagan has said he would agree to raising taxes only as a last resort. Mr. Speakes on Tuesday ruled out the possibility that the president would seek a tax increase.

Some aides, however, have indicated a tax increase still could be in the offing.

Before Tuesday's announcement, several Republicans in Congress, including the Senate majority leader, Robert J. Dole of Kansas, had said that sizable cuts in the defense buildup would be needed to win congressional approval of the proposal.

Mr. Dole said Monday evening that Mr. Weinberger's original list of \$19 billion in cuts over three years "would not be enough" to satisfy many Republican members of Congress.

Mr. Speakes said, "The president is also committed to a deficit reduction plan with the objective of shrinking the deficit at a percentage of gross national product from 4 percent in fiscal '86, to 3 percent in fiscal '87 and 2 percent in fiscal '88."

Mr. Speakes shrugged off suggestions that Congress would insist on deeper defense cuts. "That remains to be seen," he said.

Mr. Reagan will send his formal federal budget proposal to Congress early next year. The plan will include only fiscal 1986, which begins next Oct. 1.

Coolness to Space Arms By U.K., France Irks U.S.

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As President Ronald Reagan conferred with advisers Monday on the U.S. position at disarmament talks next month, some annoyance was voiced here over statements in Paris and London suggesting opposition to the space-based "Star Wars" missile defense program.

British spokesmen were quoted in news reports Monday as saying that Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher shared the views of a visiting Soviet official, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, that weapons in outer space should be banned. President François Mitterrand of France criticized the American program and said France supported talks to prevent the militarization of space.

After a meeting with Mr. Gorbachev — thought to be the second most powerful figure in the Kremlin — on Sunday, British sources said that both Mrs. Thatcher and he expressed interest in avoiding an arms race in space. They added that Mrs. Thatcher "undoubtedly" would raise the issue when she meets with Mr. Reagan on Saturday at Camp David, Maryland.

She has made two speeches this year in which she expressed concern for the dangers and cost of a space arms race.



Margaret Thatcher

Mr. Mitterrand, in a television address Sunday on his country's relations with the Soviet Union, also criticized the Reagan program. French strategists are known to fear that anti-missile defenses in space could partially neutralize the French nuclear arsenal.

The U.S. State Department supports research into defensive programs but sees the "Star Wars" program as a bargaining device in talks with the Soviet Union. The Defense Department is opposed to talks that might limit the "Star Wars" program or the testing of anti-satellite weapons.

A White House official said Monday he thought Mrs. Thatcher was receiving poor advice and said he hoped that when she and Mr. Reagan met on Saturday at Camp David, the British and American positions could be aligned. He said Mitterrand's statements were unhelpful.

(On Tuesday, Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said there is no conflict in the American and British positions. The Associated Press reported.)

■ Moscow Expresses Doubt
In Moscow, a senior Soviet commentator on Monday challenged U.S. sincerity in preparing for the new disarmament talks in Geneva, the Los Angeles Times reported. Writing in Pravda, Yuri Zhukov said the Reagan administration appeared split over seeking an arms agreement or continuing the missile race.

5 Sentenced to Death For Treason by Vietnam

Reuters

HO CHI MINH CITY — Vietnam's Supreme Court sentenced five people on Tuesday to death by firing squad for plotting to overthrow Hanoi's Communist government with help from China, Thailand and the United States.

The five were among 21 defendants found guilty of treason and espionage after a five-day trial. China was said to be paying for the plot that was to occur next year.

Three others were sentenced to life imprisonment and the rest were given jail terms ranging from eight to 20 years.

Judge Huynh Van Thang said the five, Mai Van Hanh, Tran Van Ba, Le Quoc Quan, Huynh Van Thanh and Ho Thi Bach, were the leaders of a plot funded and armed by China and backed by Thailand with U.S. connivance.

Many of the defendants served in the former South Vietnamese Army. They admitted their guilt and pleaded for leniency when the trial ended Monday.

Under Vietnam's penal code, the five have seven days to appeal to have their death sentences commuted to life imprisonment.

mutated to life imprisonment. There is no appeal on the jail terms.

During the trial, the prosecution said that part of the plot was to kidnap or kill French and Soviet diplomats and technicians to sour Hanoi's relations with Paris and Moscow.

The defendants, from 20 to 63 years old, were among more than 100 rebels captured after infiltrating the country since 1961, the court was told.

The aim of their "United Front of Patriotic Forces for the Liberation of Vietnam" was to launch simultaneous guerrilla and sabotage attacks, including blowing up Soviet ships, during 1985.

The prosecution said China financed the plot with \$300,000 in cash and more than 100 tons of weapons, while the Thai Army trained the rebels.

■ France Concerned

France was concerned that two of the five people sentenced to death for plotting against the Vietnamese government might be French nationals, an External Relations Ministry spokesman said, according to a Reuters report from Paris.

U.S. Will Provide for Extra Projects To Compensate for UNESCO Pullout

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration is planning to provide \$47 million worth of educational, scientific and communications projects to fill an aid gap when the United States withdraws from UNESCO.

Formal confirmation of the administration's decision to pull out of the 161-nation United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at the end of this year is expected sometime this week.

The foreign aid package being put together by the State Department is equivalent to the amount of money the United States would be assessed as a member of UNESCO. The U.S. contribution accounts for 25 percent of the agency's annual budget of nearly \$200 million.

While abandoning its membership, the United States will set up

an observer mission at UNESCO headquarters in Paris to continue to seek changes in the organization.

State Department officials declined to provide details pending formal approval by the Office of Management and Budget. But one official, who spoke on condition that he not be identified, said that \$7 million to \$8 million have been earmarked for projects in developing countries.

"This is about three to four times the amount that would have been made available if the United States had provided the funds through UNESCO," he said. If donated to UNESCO, some of the money would have been used to support the agency's bureaucracy, he said.

He added that other educational and scientific programs may well gain more through direct U.S. assistance than through UNESCO.

Officials said the money will be

requested for the 1986 fiscal year, which begins Oct. 1, 1985.

The U.S. withdrawal is opposed by the U.S. Commission for UNESCO, an advisory group set up by Congress. Last week the commission urged the administration to continue to work for changes that would enable the United States to rejoin a reformed UNESCO at the earliest possible date.

The Reagan administration gave the required year's notice last December that it planned to leave the organization at the end of 1984, asserting that the agency was badly mismanaged and had developed a statist, anti-Western bias in its programs.

Britain announced last month that it would leave the agency at the end of 1985 unless substantial reforms are made. The British pay nearly 8 percent of the budget.

Middle East's Changing Political Face Is Seen Behind Outburst of Terrorism

By John Kifner
New York Times Service

BEIRUT — The hijacking of a Kuwaiti airliner to Iran this month, in which two Americans were killed, is but one facet of a wave of terrorism that reflects new tension in the Middle East, diplomats and government officials say.

"This tragedy is not the end, it is just the beginning," an Arab diplomat in Kuwait said.

A European diplomat in Kuwait spoke of the hijacking as a "turning point" that "may be the beginning of a historical development which will not be favorable to the region."

According to diplomats and government officials in the Middle East, the outburst of terrorism in recent weeks stems from the following factors:

● The shifting alliances and deepening divisions in the region,

which see Jordan and Egypt trying to form an axis of moderate Arab nations to oppose Syrian influence.

● The split within the Palestine Liberation Organization, in which Yasser Arafat has aligned himself with King Hussein of Jordan in order to preserve his leadership from the challenge of Syrian-backed factions.

● The rise throughout the area of Islamic fundamentalism, particularly among Shiite Muslims in Lebanon and elsewhere, influenced and aided by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Iran.

● The willingness of some nations in the region to sponsor underground terrorist groups to foster their own political or ideological goals and the difficulty of controlling these groups once they are set up.

The result, the diplomats and government officials say, is a

mounting underground battle, which so far has been marked by more than half a dozen attempts on the lives of Arab diplomats.

Jordanian diplomats appear particularly at risk. On Dec. 5, the Jordanian chargé d'affaires in Bucharest, Azmi Al-Mufti, was shot to death. Romanian authorities later arrested a Palestinian-born Jordanian for the murder.

The shooting appeared to mark the resurgence of Black September, once a terrorist wing of the mainstream PLO organization, al-Fatah. This group now seems to have turned against Mr. Arafat and his new allies.

A caller to Agence France-Presse in Paris claimed responsibility for the slaying in Romania on behalf of Black September, which he said was resuming "revolutionary activities." The statement accused the "royalist regime in Amman" of "committing massacres and crimes against our people and cause by conspiring with the traitor, Yasser Arafat."

A few days before the shooting in Romania, a Jordanian diplomat in Athens escaped death when an assailant's gun failed to fire. In the last year, Jordanian diplomats have been killed or wounded by Arab gunmen in New Delhi, Rome and Athens.

In Athens at the beginning of December, bombs were put under five cars belonging to the Iraqi Embassy, and a Greek policeman was killed trying to defuse one. Days later, someone opened fire with a submachine gun on an attack of the Syrian Embassy, Abdullah Mahdi. But the diplomat took out his own weapon and drove off the attacker.

In Rome on Friday night, a PLO official, Ismail Darwish, was killed by three shots near the fashionable Via Veneto. Police said he was carrying a false Moroccan passport and plane tickets to Tunis, site of Mr. Arafat's headquarters.

In addition to the splits within the Arab world, heightened by the Gulf war, in which Syria is supporting Iran against Iraq, the spread of Islamic extremism poses a threat to established rulers throughout the region.

In Lebanon, militant Shiite cler-

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Pressured Recruiters Hard Sell the Service

By Rick Arkinson
Washington Post Service

DELAND, Florida — He was a Double Oh Echo, which distinguished him in subtle but critical ways from a Double Oh Romeo.

In U.S. Army shorthand, that meant that Sergeant Ray Hessler was a temporary recruiter rather than a permanent career recruiter. It meant that his three-year stint in central Florida, nurturing and harvesting young recruits, was not his idea, but a duty imposed by the army.

"I didn't think I could sell an egg to a bunch of starving people," the 31-year-old soldier would recall. "I talked to the chaplain and told him I was going to fail. I didn't want to be a recruiter."

By any measure, Sergeant Hessler was extraordinarily successful. He wore the coveted army recruiter's ring, the highest emblem of recruiting success. Many recruits who came from broken homes spoke of him as a surrogate father. A bulletin board in his office was peppered with snapshots of some of the 217 volunteers he "put in," far exceeding his quota, or "mission," as the army prefers to call it.

Shortly before leaving Deland in July to resume his regular duties in Texas as a pararescue team dental technician, the town named him "citizen of the year."

"If I had to do it all over again," Sergeant Hessler said several weeks ago, "I wouldn't do it. I'd get out. I'd quit the army. I couldn't do it again."

Between the would-be soldier and Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger are 10 rings of bureaucracy in the army's recruiting trellis. None is more vital

than the 4,830 recruiters. In the late 1970s, when the army found it impossible to fill the ranks and nearly half the volunteers were drawn from the lowest mental category, scandal swept through the service. Particularly in the Southeast, an active recruiting region, scores of recruiters were disciplined for cheating.

Desperate to meet their quotas, some provided

The New GI
Shaping the Volunteer Army

Second of four articles.

potential recruits with answers to the armed forces entrance examination. Other recruiters hired ringers to take the test for those likely to fail, or knowingly recruited persons with epilepsy, asthma or hearing disorders.

RODDED by Congress and the public, the army cracked down and re-emphasized integrity. Many recruiters, such as Ray Hessler, were handpicked. In 1980, the army relieved 440 recruiters of duty; in the 1984 fiscal year, the number had dropped to 40.

In a related step, the army began moving many of its recruiting stations from railroad and bus depots to tourist locations in shopping malls and suburban enclaves, in a hunt for better-quality volunteers.

Ethics aside, the army recognized that if it could eliminate attrition among first-term soldiers, which runs at about one-third of the recruits, it could save \$140 million annually.

Of all issues facing the U.S. Army in the next decade, none is as nettlesome as the looming demographic pit.

Having studied the market as thoroughly as any sales force in the United States, the army knows that the number of American men aged 17 to 21 will drop from 10.4 million in 1983 to 9.2 million in 1990.

AFTER calling out high school dropouts, college students and those unqualified physically or morally, the Pentagon will be left at decade's end with a target group of 1.3 million to divvy up between the four armed services and nonmilitary employers.

Despite the best recruiting year ever in 1984, there are darker portents, including a sharp drop in the number of recruits signed up in the army's delayed entry program for 1985.

Also, there is a crucial unknown in how attractive the army will look in contrast to the civilian economy. As a rule of thumb, the more robust the economy is in providing jobs, the less inclined a bright young man or woman is to contemplate a voluntary hitch in the service. Although the army regularly analyzes 20 economic variables, only the national unemployment rate appears correlated to recruiting success.

Among the strategies now contemplated to overcome the shortfall is an intensified appeal to older recruits, junior college graduates and college dropouts.

The army also has an advertising agency in San Antonio churning out recruiting pitches in Spanish, aimed in part at the parents and priests of potential Hispanic volunteers. Although Hispanic Americans

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Sergeant Ray Hessler at the U.S. Army recruiting office in Deland, Florida.

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Gorbachov Warns U.S. Must Make Arms Move

By Michael Getler
Washington Post Service

LONDON — Mikhail S. Gorbachov, a member of the Soviet leadership, said Tuesday that "it is now up to the United States to make a move" if scheduled talks on trying to set a new arms control agenda are to progress.

Mr. Gorbachov, in a speech to Parliament's foreign affairs committee, said that the United States also should "take, this time, a realistic stand that would make for effective negotiations" at future talks.

At the same time, a member of Mr. Gorbachov's entourage here warned that "complexities will develop" if the United States does not come to some understanding with Moscow on anti-satellite weapons before the United States makes a scheduled test of such a weapon in March.

The statement by Yevgeny P. Velikhov, a Soviet space expert and a vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, struck the committee chairman, Sir Anthony Kershaw, as "in a way, a threat to say it's too late after March."

The Gorbachov delegation has made clear that blocking the U.S. effort to develop defensive space weapons is Moscow's top priority in arms negotiations.

According to accounts of private meetings Tuesday provided by British sources, Mr. Gorbachov emphasized to Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British foreign secretary, his concerns about President Ronald Reagan's so-called "Star Wars" plan to research the prospects for a space-based defense against missile attack.

The Soviet statements are a prelude to talks next month in Geneva between the U.S. secretary of state, George P. Shultz, and the Soviet foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko. They are also seen as a warning to the U.S. that the Soviet Union will not accept any limitation on nuclear arms that would be broken off last year when the Russians walked out of two sets of talks on strategic and intermediate-range missiles.

Mr. Gorbachov suggested Tuesday that those talks have been buried in the official Soviet view. He described the Soviet initiative to meet again in Geneva as "entirely new talks that would embrace the question of the nonmilitarization of space and questions of reducing nuclear arms, both strategic and intermediate range."

"Of key importance in all this," he told the committee, "is the prevention of a space arms race."

"Such a race," he said, "would not only be dangerous in itself, it would give a boost to the arms race in other areas."

Mr. Gorbachov's visit here continues to be viewed as a considerable public relations success.

On Tuesday, however, he showed flashes of irritation when questioned, during a private session with the British parliamentary committee, about human rights and religious persecution in the Soviet Union.

The committee chairman said that Mr. Gorbachov replied: "I can quote a few facts about human rights in the United Kingdom. For example, you persecute entire communities, nationalities."

The parliamentarians assumed that was a reference to Northern Ireland.



Mikhail S. Gorbachov with his wife, Raisa.

A Stylish Mrs. Gorbachov Charms British Hosts

The Associated Press

LONDON — Raisa Maximovna Gorbachov, unknown in the West until she emerged from an Aeroflot jet in London on Saturday, has joined her husband in the limelight during their visit here and seems to have charmed her hosts.

Trimmer than many Soviet women, with short, styled brown hair and tailored suits, Mrs. Gorbachov has appeared next to her husband, Mikhail, who is widely considered second-in-command at the Kremlin, during the couple's week-long stay in Britain.

"What a chic lady is Mrs. Gorbachov!" wrote Peter Tury, gossip columnist for the Daily Mirror. "And what a contrast to the previous glimpses we have had of other senior Russian wives... who looked as though they should be building dams in Siberia."

The columnist declared that Mrs. Gorbachov, "whose elegance as first lady would grace even the White House," had clearly "upstaged Maggie Thatcher" during the visit.

The wives of Kremlin leaders keep lives shrouded from the public eye as they reside in closely guarded dachas, shop in special stores and send their children to exclusive schools, their movements generally known only to fellow members of the Soviet elite.

For example, the wife of Yuri V. Andropov was so obscure that Western diplomats and reporters in Moscow were not even sure she existed until she appeared at his funeral ceremonies last February.

But trips abroad can give the outside world a look at the leaders' wives.

Mrs. Gorbachov's most prominent appearance so far has been the lunch on Sunday with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and her

band, Denis, at the prime minister's country mansion, Chequers.

The foreign affairs spokesman for the opposition Labor Party, Denis Healey, suggested on Monday that Mrs. Gorbachov added charm to her husband's smiling public appearance.

"He's a very attractive personality with an attractive wife," Mr. Healey told the British Broadcasting Corp. "This is a new style of Soviet leader," he said, adding that when in Moscow last month he met a senior foreign affairs adviser to the Politburo who "was exactly the same — charming, with a very attractive wife, and absolutely straightforward."

The Times of London commented, "Mr. Gorbachov's affability and humor, together with the charm of his wife, have made the most vivid impression on his British hosts."

Despite the glare of publicity, some things remain unknown.

It is not known where or when Mrs. Gorbachov was born, or where and when she met and married her husband.

A British official said after Sunday's meetings at Chequers that Mrs. Gorbachov took an extensive two-hour tour of the mansion and showed a special interest in the library.

"She clearly knows quite a lot about English literature," the official said, adding that she spoke some English. "She is a philosopher, we understand, by training and profession."

A member of Parliament, Donald Anderson of the Labor Party, said after he sat next to Mrs. Gorbachov at a dinner at opulent Claridge's hotel on Saturday night that "she is a pleasant and charming woman without being shy."

Army Recruiters Under Pressure To Give Hard Sell for the Service

(Continued from Page 1)

are the fastest-growing segment of the U.S. population, they make up 4 percent of the army, roughly half their proportion of the nation's population.

Some experts say the army should worry less about recruiting and more about keeping the soldiers it has, a strategy that might result in a more senior force. That could trim recruiting and basic training costs but cost more in salaries and pension benefits.

"We've had a very good three years of recruiting," said General Maxwell R. Thurman, the army's vice chief of staff. "Now we need to focus our attention on keeping those very good recruits. A lot of it has to do with the tempo of activity. If it's high, people feel good about what they're doing."

"I've never fretted over the demographics," added Lawrence J. Korb, assistant defense secretary for manpower, reserve affairs and logistics. "It's amazing that each year we've had less to draw on and we've done better."

"I don't think it's going to be a problem if patriotism remains high," said Mr. Korb.

For now, however, the bottom line for recruiters, according to army analysts, is that in the next five years they will have to work 12 percent harder just to stay even in meeting their quotas.

SERGEANT Hessler hailed S from a poor northern Florida family of 14. He joined the army 11 years ago for the proffered \$1,500 bonus — enough of a grubstake to get married — and made a living jumping out of airplanes.

When he arrived as the sole army representative in the DeLand recruiting office, he found file cabinets crammed with old C-rations, recruiting brochures from the 1960s and a parachute. He painted the walls and posted the recruiter's code of ethics, which reminded him in bold type that his failure "could place in danger the American way of life and the sacred cause of human freedom."

He resisted emulating the U.S. Marine office in nearby Daytona, where a sign urges recruits to "give a Communist the gift that lasts — death."

In the main, he went by the book. He scouted out the high school like an infantry scout reconnoitering an enemy bunker.

He kept a "smart board," a detailed map of the 365 square miles (946 square kilometers) in his recruiting district. Each recruit was charted by zip code with appropriate colored dots: purple for women, green for men in a high mental category, green with an X for dumber men. And once a month he phoned headquarters with his "enemy report," a summary of what the other three services were doing to recruit in DeLand.

Some volunteers were lured with

cash, including college funds of \$20,000 or more. Others were wooed with a thick list of army job openings, 362 military occupational specialties for men, 301 for women. These include 19 Delta (cavalry scout), 55 Golf (nuclear weapons maintenance specialist), 71 Quebec (journalist) or 57 Fox-trot (graves registration specialist).

From army surveys, Sergeant Hessler knew that nearly half of army enlistments come from those who had said they were disinclined to join the service. Thus, he took to heart the recruiters' unspoken motto: "Don't take no for an answer."

It was seldom dull. There was the old vet who burst into the office one afternoon and belted out all the stanzas of "The Star-Spangled Banner" while braced at attention. There was the father who offered \$3,000 to enlist his unqualified son.

There were deers by the call of duty, such as the relentless pursuit of one recruit's natural mother from Florida to Pennsylvania to Ohio so she could authorize the enlistment of the underage son she had abandoned 16 years earlier.

And there were occasional gaffes, as when he promised on the phone to enlist a young girl only to discover that she was a paraplegic. The mistake, engendered by a desperate drive to fill his quota, made him feel "knee high to a duck," he said.

At the end of every month, Sergeant Hessler had met or exceeded his quota. But at the beginning of each subsequent month there was a new quota. Failure meant a black smudge on the record and potential damage to his career.

Even in the golden age of recruiting, the pressure from higher authority was unrelenting, as in this message last year from the brigade colonel:

"Good judgment dictates the retention of quality recruiters and the elimination of those who do not measure up to acceptable standards. We must work hard to make every recruiter a winner."

Eventually, Sergeant Hessler felt his life began to unravel. His wife left him for eight months, fed up with his 16-hour workdays and the pressure from a company commander who seemed to endorse the old adage that "if the army wanted you to have a wife, they would have issued you one."

Last April, unnerved by the emotional collapse of his recruiting buddy who threatened to shoot the captain, Sergeant Hessler decided to return to the dental clinic when his tour ended in the summer.

"They've got a good product," he said, "but I don't believe they need to put it in a pressure cooker. Now we're starting to fall short and the pressure's starting to really come back" to meet quotas.

"We will have another 1978," he said. "I don't know when. It may be five or 10 years down the road, but it's coming."

As a legacy, Sergeant Hessler bequeathed the army a couple of hundred recruits, including many who were exceptional.

John Pennington, 17, and his 19-year-old brother, Leon, last saw their natural mother when they were 12 and 14. After bouncing among temporary homes in Miami and Orlando, Florida, the two black youths were adopted by a high school art teacher in DeLand, Charles Royster, who had seen action in the Korean War with an 81mm mortar crew.

John, in particular, seemed to be everything the army was seeking. Bright, and self-contained beyond



Private David Autrey, above, doing pushups at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. Below, John Pennington, left, and his brother, Leon, talk over plans before entering the army.



cash, including college funds of \$20,000 or more. Others were wooed with a thick list of army job openings, 362 military occupational specialties for men, 301 for women. These include 19 Delta (cavalry scout), 55 Golf (nuclear weapons maintenance specialist), 71 Quebec (journalist) or 57 Fox-trot (graves registration specialist).

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WORLD BRIEFS

Poles Welcome U.S. Decision on IMF

WARSAW (UPI) — Poland welcomed Tuesday a U.S. decision to lift objections to Polish membership in the International Monetary Fund, but warned Washington to stop interfering in its internal affairs and halt an "aggressive propaganda campaign."

"Poland expects further steps from the United States to normalize relations," the government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, said at his weekly press conference. Answering a question as to when ambassadors could be exchanged again, he said: "The faster the U.S. government stops all interference in our internal affairs and stops its aggressive propaganda campaign against Poland, the faster relations between the two countries can be restored." Ties were severed in 1981 when Communist authorities imposed martial law.

He called the U.S. decision on Polish membership in the IMF "a representation of a more realistic approach to our country." He added, "It is a very positive step."

Genscher Urges East-West Dialogue

PRAGUE (Reuters) — The West German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, urged the Soviet Union and the United States on Tuesday to create a stable framework for East-West dialogue in which European states could also play a role.

Speaking at a lunch in his honor on the first day of a visit to Czechoslovakia, Mr. Genscher said Bonn shared the view of the Warsaw Pact states that an improvement in East-West relations was possible.

"The time is ripe to move East-West relations forward through common efforts," Mr. Genscher said. Sources in the Bonn delegation said that when Mr. Genscher met the Czechoslovak foreign minister, Bohuslav Chmoupek, earlier he stressed Washington's desire to resume a dialogue with Moscow.

Tax Cuts Approved in West Germany

BONN (Reuters) — The West German cabinet on Tuesday approved a 20-billion Deutsche mark (\$6.47-billion) package of income tax cuts which it said were the largest in the country's history.

Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg said he hoped the parliament would pass the measure by mid-1985. The cuts would go into effect in two stages — the first in 1986 would reduce taxes by 10.8 billion DM and the second in 1988 would cut them by 9.2 billion DM.

The first stage would benefit mainly middle- and low-income families by raising their tax thresholds and sharply increasing tax-free child benefits. The second stage would reform tax thresholds across the board.

U.S.-Iran Tribunal Judge to Resign

THE HAGUE (AP) — Willem Riphagen of the Netherlands, one of the three neutral judges at the U.S.-Iran claims tribunal, submitted his resignation on Tuesday, tribunal sources said.

His departure would remove one of the ideological roadblocks to the normal functioning of the tribunal, whose operations were suspended for three months after two Iranian judges assaulted another neutral judge, Nils Mangard of Sweden, who also has indicated he would resign. The Iranian judges were replaced last month.

Mr. Riphagen and Mr. Mangard have been targets of intense criticism by the Iranian government, which claims the two are biased in favor of the United States. The tribunal is made up of three judges each from Iran and the United States, and the three neutral judges. The panel is arbitrating financial claims totaling \$3.5 billion arising from the Iranian revolution.

Land Mine Blast in Sri Lanka Kills 9

COLOMBO, Sri Lanka (AP) — Eight policemen and a civilian driver were killed Tuesday when a land mine set off by Tamil separatist guerrillas blew up their jeep near the eastern town of Kalawandikudy, the government announced.

The Information Ministry said that police were chasing a vanload of robbery suspects when a mine was detonated as their jeep drove over it. It said that police were investigating the possibility that a robbery was staged to lure the policemen into an ambush.

Approximately 400 people have died since Nov. 19 in violence by guerrillas seeking a separate northern state for Sri Lanka's Tamils. The Tamils comprise about 16 percent of Sri Lanka's 17 million people and complain that they are discriminated against by the majority Sinhalese.

Ulster Judge Dismisses Trial of 35

BELFAST (UPI) — The biggest legal trial in Britain's history collapsed Tuesday when Ulster's lord chief justice freed 35 people who were charged with terrorist offenses on the word of a police informer.

The evidence of the informer, Raymond McIlroy, 26, was "entirely without belief," Justice Robert Lowry said in summing up of the case, which has lasted two and a half years. Mr. Gilmore, the police said, is a selfish and self-regarding man "to whose lips a lie invariably came more naturally than the truth."

He acquitted 35 people charged with a variety of offenses, including murder, attempted murder and bomb attacks. Soon afterward, 26 of the accused walked free from the court. But nine were sent back to their cells, having been sentenced previously for other crimes.

For the Record

At least three bombs exploded Tuesday along a fuel pipeline supplying three U.S. military bases in Spain, causing one fire but no serious damage. No group immediately claimed responsibility. (UPI)

West Germany's highest court on Tuesday dismissed allegations that the deployment of new U.S. nuclear missiles in the federal republic is unconstitutional. It was ruling on a suit brought by the anti-NATO, anti-nuclear Greens party and said the current deployment of the cruise and Pershing-2 rockets does not contravene the constitution. (UPI)

The prime minister of Malta, Dom Mintoff, met Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko for talks on Tuesday on the first full day of his first visit to Moscow. (Reuters)

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain arrived Tuesday in Beijing for the scheduled signing of an agreement giving China sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997. (AP)

Egypt took the seat in the 43-nation Islamic Conference Organization Tuesday at a meeting in San'a, North Yemen. The organization suspended Egypt's membership in 1979 to protest its peace treaty with Israel, but readmitted Egypt earlier this year. (AP)

The UN General Assembly voted 122-5, with 16 abstentions, on Tuesday to spend \$73.5 million to modernize the headquarters of the UN Economic Commission for Africa in Addis Ababa. The United States called the vote a rebuff to Ethiopia's famine victims. (Reuters)

Four members of the U.S. House of Representatives on Tuesday called on the Reagan administration to open direct communications with Vietnam and Cambodia. The legislators, who recently returned from Indochina, said they were concerned about an increased Soviet presence there. (AP)

Correction

A picture caption in the Dec. 18 issue of the International Herald Tribune incorrectly identified Sudanese displaced persons as Ethiopian refugees.

Terrorism and Mideast's New Tensions

(Continued from Page 1)

ics have for the first time raised the slogan of an Islamic republic. In the Gulf, the wealthy emirs look nervously at their large Shiite populations — 30 percent of Kuwait's population, for example, is Shiite, largely of Iranian extraction.

The major question left unanswered after the six-day hijacking of the Kuwaiti airliner to Tehran was whether the Iranian authorities were directly involved. The hijackers were reported to have been seeking the release of 17 prisoners, mostly Shiite Muslims convicted in the truck-bombings a year ago of the U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait.

The prisoners were members of Al Daw (The Call), an Iraqi underground opposition that is one of several Shiite bands throughout the Middle East under the sponsorship of Iran's Council for the Islamic Revolution, headed by Ayatollah

Khomeini's chosen successor, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri. The council is reported to have a billion-dollar budget for exporting the fundamentalist movement.

Among the members of the council are Ayatollah Bakr Hakim, the exiled Shiite leader, and Hussein Musavi, who heads Lebanon's breakaway Islamic Amal faction in Baalbeck in the Bekaa Valley of eastern Lebanon. Many of the groups are said to receive training in camps in Iran.

Although publicly thanking Iran for ending the hijacking, Kuwaiti officials are privately convinced that Iran was in on the episode in an attempt to put pressure on Kuwait to stop financial support for Iraq in the war.

An Arab diplomat said: "Iran was involved, that's for sure. Iran was involved because it was the Daw Islamic Party."

"Why terrorism?" he said. "Because it works. It's one thing these Gulf states are terrified of."

Iran to Try Hijackers

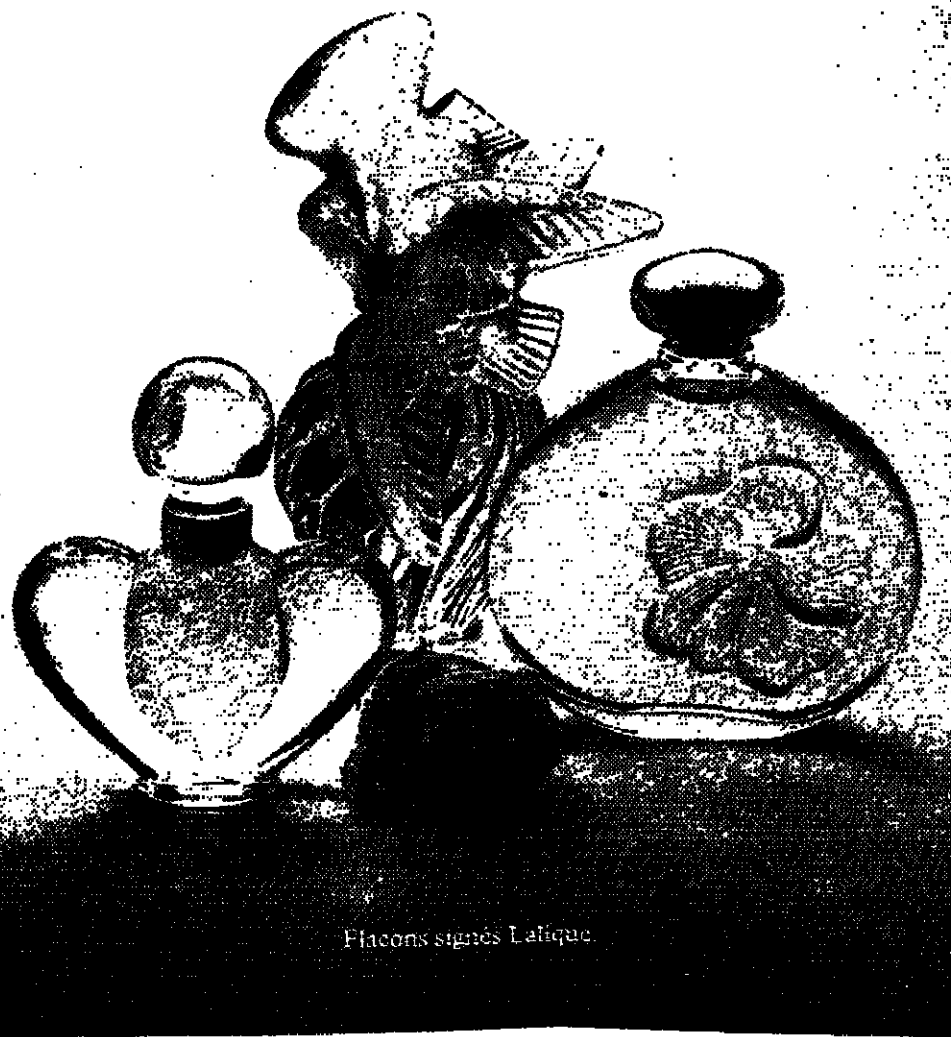
Iran's public prosecutor announced Tuesday that the four hijackers of the Kuwaiti airliner would be tried in Iran, according to The Associated Press, monitoring a report by IRNA, the Iranian news agency.

The prosecutor, Hojatoleslam Mir Emadi, said the four would be tried according to "the penal law of the Islamic Republic of Iran," the AP said in its report from Nicola.

U.S. Demands Public Trial

In Washington, the State Department took the unusual step Tuesday of demanding that Iran hold a public trial for the four hijackers. The Associated Press reported. A department spokesman said: "We take it for granted that they should be prosecuted. We expect that trial to be open, and the sooner it is held the better."

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Report Says Bahamas Society, Officials Corrupted by Drugs

By Joseph B. Treaster
New York Times Service

NASSAU, Bahamas — The smuggling of large amounts of drugs through the Bahamas to the United States has damaged "almost all strata of Bahamian society," corrupting policemen and cabinet ministers and creating countless young addicts, according to a royal commission report issued to members of Parliament.

The report Monday also said that in a more than a year of investigation a panel of three commissioners discovered immigration and customs officers taking bribes, lawyers and bankers laundering money and a pervasive tendency by Bahamians to "wink their eyes, or look the other way."

The commissioners said they believed "the whole nation" of about 210,000 "must accept some responsibility."

But the burden of their findings was expected to fall most heavily on Prime Minister Lynden O. Pindling, who has governed the Bahamas for 17 years. The drug business has blossomed in the last decade. Opposition leaders have been calling for Mr. Pindling's resignation.

Through a spokesman, Mr. Pindling refused to comment on the report. He did deny speculation by opposition leaders that he intended to call for new national elections. These would cause the dissolution of Parliament, helping to block public debate on the report.

The report said the smuggling of marijuana and cocaine involving tens of millions of dollars in illicit payments was continuing unabated throughout the 700 islands of the Bahamas. The trade had created a "climate" in which moral questions have been swamped by material considerations, it said.

Mr. Pindling launched the royal commission investigation in an apparent attempt to clear his reputation. It came a little more than a year after an NBC News television report charged that he and his cabinet were receiving payments of \$100,000 a month from drug dealers trying to elude U.S. authorities in the Bahamas.

A 17-page section of the report was devoted exclusively to Mr. Pindling's finances. The section was written by two of the commissioners, James A. Smith, who is British and formerly served as chief justice of the Bahamas, and Edwin W. Willes, a retired official of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

They said it was clear that the prime minister's spending had "far exceeded" his income. But they said that none of his earnings appeared to be "drug related."

But they said that ethical questions were raised by some of the deposits totaling nearly \$3.5 million that went into bank accounts of Mr. Pindling and his wife from 1977 to 1983. This was at a time

when Mr. Pindling's annual government salary ranged from \$77,000 to \$102,900.

The commissioners said they found \$230,000 in unexplained deposits in Mr. Pindling's bank accounts. They said they could not conclude "whether or not these unidentified funds were drug related."

In a separate minority report, Drexel M. Gomez, the Anglican bishop of Barbados and the only Bahamian on the commission, said the flow of money to the prime minister raised "great suspicion."

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Lynden O. Pindling

Media Will Honor Pentagon Request To Censor Coverage of Shuttle Flight

By Alex S. Jones
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Spokesmen for NBC News, The Associated Press and Aviation Week & Space Technology have confirmed that their news organizations would honor requests from the Department of Defense that they not release information on the first U.S. classified manned space mission for reasons of national security.

The confirmations occurred after a news conference Monday at which Brigadier General Richard Abel, director of public affairs for the air force, outlined guidelines for limiting information regarding shuttle missions sponsored by the Department of Defense.

The shuttle Discovery is scheduled to take off Jan. 23 from the Kennedy Space Center at Cape Canaveral, Florida. Project officials refused to say how long it will remain in orbit and over what areas of Earth it will fly.

For the first time in 46 U.S. man-in-space flights, the media will not be able to follow the countdown, although reporters will be permitted to view the liftoff from the press site at the Kennedy Space Center.

General Abel said that speculation by news organizations as to military aspects of the shuttle mission would lead to an investigation by the Defense Department to determine their source of information.

The Pentagon effort to silence speculation in the press about the mission was seen as an unusual step by some specialists in press law because of the highly public nature of previous shuttle flights and the broad public debate regarding the militarization of space.

"It is plainly an effort to limit the scope and breadth of public debate on an important and controversial aspect of American public policy," said Floyd Abrams, an attorney at Cahill Gordon & Reindel in New York who specializes in constitutional law.

News organizations complained after being excluded from the early phases of the U.S.-led invasion of Grenada and Pentagon officials have recently agreed in principle that there should be maximum disclosure for military operations.

General Abel said that Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger had contacted a senior executive at NBC News and requested that a planned broadcast regarding the shuttle's military payload be dropped. NBC News had contacted the Defense Department seeking confirmation of information regarding the shuttle, according to a Pentagon official.

The Pentagon is "looking into some violation of security" regarding NBC's source of information, General Abel said.

NBC News said that Mr. Weinberger had told them that their proposed news broadcast "could seriously endanger national security."

Walter Meers, executive editor of The Associated Press, said the news service had been asked not to disseminate an article about the shuttle payload on grounds of national security, and had agreed not to do so.

William H. Gregory, editor of Aviation Week, said the Pentagon had contacted him with a request that he not publish information and that he had said he had no plans to do so.

Cloud Prevented Photo A wide-angle mapping camera carried into orbit by the shuttle Challenger in October was unable to photograph the site of a nuclear accident in Russia because of dense cloud cover, officials said, according to a report by United Press International from Cape Canaveral.

"We had scheduled a pass over Sverdlovsk, Russia, which is the site of a nuclear accident back in the '50s," Bernard Molberg, a NASA scientist, said Monday. "The weather prediction on the two times [the camera passed] over it were unacceptable due to clouds."

search since secret military work was all but banished from campuses during the Vietnam War. In mid-November, the Defense Department announced it expects to spend about \$100 million over the next five years at its new Software Engineering Institute affiliated with Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh.

Much of the work at the institute, for which several universities bid heavily, is expected to be classified. University officials have said they do not see that as a conflict, because the institute will not technically be on the campus.

But critics, worried about the precedent the institute may set, have noted that the Pentagon project will be run by the chairman of Carnegie-Mellon's computer science department and staffed by many of its faculty.

Sharon Suit: Time Reporter Was Warned

By Arnold H. Lubasch
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Time magazine's chief of correspondents testified Monday that he had once cautioned his Jerusalem correspondent to stay out of politics.

The testimony came from Richard L. Duncan in Ariel Sharon's libel lawsuit against the magazine in U.S. District Court in Manhattan. He recalled a discussion with David Halevy, the correspondent.

"I wanted to remind Mr. Halevy," Mr. Duncan told the jury, "that American standards of journalism require that a journalist take a step or two further back from politics than may be required in many other countries."

"And he did so," Mr. Duncan added, referring to Mr. Halevy, "and I have had no problems at all with him in that regard since."

The discussion took place in 1978, Mr. Duncan said, shortly after he became chief of correspondents. He said he had been concerned that Mr. Halevy, an Israeli citizen, had taken part in political campaigns.

He praised Mr. Halevy's reporting for the magazine over the years, saying that "a good deal of what he had done was very good and very inside reporting."

Mr. Duncan was questioned by Richard M. Goldstein, a lawyer for Mr. Sharon, Israel's former defense minister, who has accused Time of libeling him in an article about the September 1982 massacre in two Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. The questioning sought to show that Mr. Halevy supported Mr. Sharon's political opponents.

"What was the political activity that had concerned you?" Mr. Goldstein asked the witness.

"I recall Mr. Halevy had worked, I believe it was in 1976, had done some work for the Shimon Peres campaign," Mr. Duncan replied. Mr. Peres, the current Israeli prime minister and a frequent political rival of Mr. Sharon.

U.S. Engineer Arrested In Technology Sale Plot The FBI arrested an engineer Tuesday on charges he tried to sell billion-dollar "stealth" technology for concealing bombers from radar to the Soviet Union for \$25,000.

FBI Director William H. Webster said disclosure of those documents would have caused irreparable damage to U.S. national security. He said the man was charged with removing classified technical manuals, blueprints and other papers from his employer, the Advanced Systems Division of the Northrop Corp.

Mr. Halevy testified earlier in the five-week-old trial that he had ended his political activities in 1969, shortly after he began working for Time.

In the \$50-million libel suit, Mr. Sharon contends that Time falsely accused him of discussing revenge with Lebanese Phalangis shortly before he went into the two Lebanon camps. Time argues that its article was substantially true.

■ CBS Producer Questioned Eleanor Randolph of The Washington Post reported Monday from New York: George Crile, a CBS producer, was faced Monday with defending two in-house "notes" written before his network interviewed General William C. Westmoreland three years ago.

As the retired general's \$120-million libel action against CBS Inc. stretched into its 11th week, Mr. Crile, one of three CBS co-defendants, listened as General Westmoreland's attorney read the producer's assessment that the general "seems not to be all that bright."

Mr. Crile also defended as "hyperbole" a comment he made to a co-defendant, Mike Wallace, that, "Now all you have to do is break General Westmoreland and we have the whole thing averted."

Dan M. Burt, General Westmoreland's attorney, asked Mr. Crile: "The task that you had with General Westmoreland was to break him by not giving him adequate information about what the interview was about, correct, sir?"

"No, Mr. Burt," Mr. Crile responded. "The term 'break Westmoreland' obviously is hyperbole."

At issue in the trial is whether CBS defamed General Westmoreland when a documentary accused him of participating in a "conspiracy" to "suppress and alter" enemy-troop figures in Vietnam.

Mr. Crile testified that Mr. Wallace had a "very large challenge" during his interview with General Westmoreland to try to keep the general from denying that his command "suppressed" enemy-troop data in 1967.

The producer made clear Monday that before the interview he had not believed General Westmoreland's version of events surrounding the troop figures. He said that prior to the interview the general had "a continued practice of stonewalling and denying that there had been fundamental contradiction within his command."

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Study Finds a 'Staggering' Increase In Poverty in U.S. Southern States

By Peter J. Boyer
Los Angeles Times Service

ATLANTA — After a generation of declining poverty, the South now is experiencing a "staggering" increase in the number of poor people and has reached a poverty level unequalled since the 1960s, according to a study issued Tuesday.

Since 1979, the number of poor people in the South has risen from 9.4 million, or 15.6 percent of the population, to 12 million, or 18 percent of the population, the Southern Regional Council reported in its study, "Patterns of Poverty."

"Never before in the recorded history of poverty has the South experienced four years of steady increases in the numbers of poor persons and the rate of poverty," said the research foundation's director, Steven Suits, who wrote the report.

The Southern Regional Council report implied that the increase in poverty was the result of Reagan administration policies.

The study was based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau, which set the 1983 poverty threshold at \$10,178 for a family of four. The council's study focused on the states in the "historical South" — Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Arkansas and Virginia.

The report traced a steady decline in Southern poverty beginning in the early 1960s, when the federal government began to document poverty levels in association with its War on Poverty, until 1975. From 1975 to 1979, the number of poor in the South wavered, and in

1979, it began to rise, the report said.

From 1979 to 1983, the last year for which data was available, poverty in the South rose 28 percent.

"These recently rapid, steady increases have returned the number of poor persons to the levels that existed 20 years ago," the report said. "Not since 1965, a year before the full implementation of the congressional poverty programs, have the 11 Southern states housed so many poor."

The study warned of the emergence of two societies in the South — one increasingly prosperous as the Sun Belt region attracts new industry and jobs, the other increasingly poor.

"What we've often seen in the past with an increase in poverty is an overall decline in the economy," Mr. Suits said of the Southern

states. "That hasn't necessarily occurred in the last four years."

Southern blacks have been hardest hit by the new poverty, with an estimated 39 percent falling below the poverty line — a rate that existed in the early 1970s, the report said. The rate of poverty among Southern black families headed by women "is probably higher than 60 percent," the report said.

The new Southern poverty seems part of a national rise in poverty, as reflected in the Census Bureau's most recent report, which showed that the number of poor across the nation increased from 26.1 million in 1979 to 35.4 million last year.

Mr. Suits said that "it's pretty clear that federal policies have had a lot to do with levels of poverty" in the South, citing unemployment and a reduction in cash payments, food stamps and other federal assistance programs.

U.S. Said to Expand Demand to Preview Research

By David E. Sanger
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — A report circulating at top research universities in the United States asserts that federal agencies have greatly expanded their demands to review academic research before it is published.

The report says that this and other restraints threaten "to erode the American tradition of academic freedom."

The 32-page document was prepared by Harvard University, and officials at other campuses describe it as the most comprehensive catalog yet published of restrictions on university research that the U.S. government finances.

Administrators at several schools have said privately in recent weeks that the publication of the report marks the beginning of a concerted effort by research universities to roll back such restrictions in the Reagan administration's second term.

The report cites demands for "pre-publication review" in contract proposals from numerous government agencies and departments, including the U.S. Air Force, the Environmental Protection Agency and the National Institute of Education.

"The list of restrictions is even more extensive than we thought," said Robert M. Rosenzweig, a former Stanford University official who is now president of the Association of American Universities.

"We will have to be much more active on this issue."

The academic officials say the increased demand for "pre-publication review" probably stems from federal efforts to keep tighter control of the budget and to assure that work is performed to specifications.

"Our only requirement, and we have had it for a long time, is that agencies establish some performance standards and receive performance reports, to make sure we know that we are getting what we are paying for," said Edwin L. Dale Jr., a spokesman for the Office of

Management and Budget, which oversees contract and procurement policies. "We don't tell the agencies how to do that."

The report, written by John Shattuck, Harvard's vice president for government and public affairs, terms as "recent" the agency actions at issue, but university officials say some of them began before the Reagan administration took office. Federal officials in several agencies say they know of no major changes in policy affecting government-financed research, which accounts for a significant portion of the basic research done on U.S. campuses.

At Harvard, for example, federal projects in 1983 totaled \$110 million, or 19 percent of the university's overall expenditures.

But administrators at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Stanford and other campuses say the report's most surprising findings concern government efforts to review government-financed research before it is published.

Traditionally, university researchers have opposed any pre-publication review except the "peer review" of scholarly journals. Until recently, the report contends, government agencies have insisted on reviewing only material touching on national security matters. That accounts for relatively little university research, because classified research is banned on most campuses.

However, the Harvard report says, "secretary regulations often go far afield of any reasonable definition of national security."

The report has appeared just as the Pentagon is making its most forceful push into university research since secret military work was all but banished from campuses during the Vietnam War. In mid-November, the Defense Department announced it expects to spend about \$100 million over the next five years at its new Software Engineering Institute affiliated with Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh.

Much of the work at the institute, for which several universities bid heavily, is expected to be classified. University officials have said they do not see that as a conflict, because the institute will not technically be on the campus.

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However, the Harvard report says, "secretary regulations often go far afield of any reasonable definition of national security."

The report has appeared just as the Pentagon is making its most forceful push into university research since secret military work was all but banished from campuses during the Vietnam War. In mid-November, the Defense Department announced it expects to spend about \$100 million over the next five years at its new Software Engineering Institute affiliated with Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh.

Much of the work at the institute, for which several universities bid heavily, is expected to be classified. University officials have said they do not see that as a conflict, because the institute will not technically be on the campus.

But critics, worried about the precedent the institute may set, have noted that the Pentagon project will be run by the chairman of Carnegie-Mellon's computer science department and staffed by many of its faculty.

Seoul Dissident To Leave U.S.

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Kim Dae Jung, the South Korean opposition leader, has vowed to return to his homeland directly from the United States next month because the Seoul government has refused permission for him to travel to Europe and Canada for meetings with government leaders.

Mr. Kim's statement Monday apparently meant that he would be back in South Korea during the campaign for parliamentary elections, scheduled for February. Mr. Kim and another dissident, Kim Young Sam, have formed a political party to oppose President Chun Doo Hwan.

"I shall return in spite of the Korean government's threat to put me back in prison," he said Monday. Mr. Kim, 59, was convicted of sedition in 1980 and has 17½ years remaining on his 20-year prison sentence. He was allowed to leave for the United States two years ago for medical treatment.

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GOOD PEOPLE MAKE GOOD PARTNERS

ECLECTIC DESIGN

Book Revives French Tragedy Of Jewish Children Sent to Die

By Richard Bernstein
New York Times Service

PARIS — It was just over 40 years ago, on the brilliant spring morning of April 6, 1944, that two trucks and two cars of the Gestapo in Nazi-occupied France arrived unexpectedly at a children's home in the mountain village of Izieu, a few miles east of Lyon.

Within minutes, the Gestapo rounded up the 44 children and seven adults who lived or worked in the home. They were sent the next day to a deportation center in Drancy outside Paris, and then to the Nazi death camp at Auschwitz, where every one of the children perished in the gas chambers.

The story of the 44 children, how they came to Izieu, how they lived there, how they died, and most important, exactly who they were and what they were like, is the subject of a detailed and highly personalized chronicle that was published Monday in Paris.

Called "The Children of Izieu: A Jewish Tragedy," the 128-page, large-format book covers a tragic event that has been known in out-

line since the end of World War II. But it adds a richness of detail — photographs, letters, birth certificates, accounts of daily life — that gives each of the victims a concrete identity, removing their murders from the realm of abstract evil to that of the wrenchingly particular.

The document, for example, contains a letter found at Izieu from 11-year-old Liliane Gerstein. It was in the form of a prayer to God, who, Liliane avowed, embodied an infinite kindness that rewarded the good while punishing the wicked.

"It is thanks to you," her letter said, "that I had a good life before, that I was spoiled, that I had pretty things that others did not have."

"I only ask you one thing," Liliane wrote. "Let my parents be together again. Protect them (even more than me) so that I might see them again as soon as possible. Let them return one more time."

"I have so much confidence in you that I give you my thanks in advance," her letter concluded.

The materials were compiled over a 12-year period by Serge Klarsfeld, a Paris lawyer, who said

he timed the publishing of the book to coincide with the beginning of the Jewish festival of Hanukkah on Tuesday evening. Mr. Klarsfeld said that the document was intended to fulfill several purposes.

First, Mr. Klarsfeld said, the account is intended to provide evidence of one of the crimes against humanity attributed to Klaus Barbie, the Gestapo chief of Lyon, whom Mr. Klarsfeld and his wife, Beate, were instrumental in finding in refuge in Bolivia.

Mr. Barbie was extradited in 1983 to France, where he is expected to stand trial within a few months. Mr. Klarsfeld accuses the former Nazi leader of direct personal responsibility in the deportations and deaths of the 44 children.

In addition, Mr. Klarsfeld said, the materials published on Monday are intended to provide identities to the victims of Izieu, to give them faces and, where possible, personalities.

The photographs alone are unusual. Most of them were taken by a non-Jewish volunteer at the home. There are almost no photographs of the 4,000 Jewish children who were deported from Paris in 1942 at the roundup of Jews at a bicycle stadium, the Velodrome d'Hiver.

Mr. Klarsfeld's book reveals that the single non-Jewish child in the Izieu home at the time of the Gestapo raid was quickly released.

"It was unthinkable," Mr. Klarsfeld said Monday, "to hold the trial of Barbie without having the names of his victims. It was unthinkable not to restore to them their identity as Jews."

Mr. Klarsfeld said that the book, which is in French, will not be distributed for sale in bookstores. Copies can be obtained from the Association of the Sons and Daughters of Jews Deported From France, whose address is B.P. 104, 75722 Paris, France.

The book contains a narrative history of efforts made by Jews and non-Jews alike to save children during the Nazi occupation of France. This included the creation of homes in remote French villages that, it was hoped, would escape the attention of the Gestapo and their many French collaborators.



BACK TO THE BULGE — A World War II-vintage U.S. tank and jeep on display in the Belgian town of Bastogne during ceremonies marking the 40th anniversary of the monthlong Battle of the Ardennes, which the German Army launched on Dec. 16, 1944.

Jakarta Seeks Trade With East Bloc, Promotes Growth of Non-Oil Exports

By Barbara Crossette
New York Times Service

JAKARTA — Indonesia, a petroleum exporter hurt by falling oil prices as well as a developing nation worried about protectionism in both Japan and the West is embarking on new industrial and trade policies aimed at tackling both problems.

At home, economists are experimenting with ways to turn the country's non-oil resources into value-added goods, such as sawed timber or furniture instead of logs, for example, or processed foods in place of raw agricultural and marine exports.

Such industrial development would have the added advantage of creating jobs; two million Indonesians enter the work force every year. It might also help make the country less vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices of basic commodities.

At the same time, the country is using more coal and gas for domestic

energy needs and is looking for ways to develop geothermal energy sources, to save oil reserves for future foreign exchange earnings.

Domestic subsidies on kerosene have been removed, raising the price to consumers by 72 percent.

Abroad, the country has begun to explore trade links with Eastern Europe and China. This is a radical change for Indonesia. The government of President Suharto, who was instrumental in putting down what has been widely assumed to be a largely Beijing-inspired Communist coup attempt in 1965, has had no formal relations with Beijing since 1967 and has kept aloof from the Soviet bloc.

"When you want to make money, you go wherever you can," said Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Indonesia's foreign minister. "China is opening up. Why should we let the Malaysians and the Singaporeans have a free run at the Chinese market?"

Indonesian products already are reaching Chinese buyers through third countries, trade and foreign affairs officials say.

No formal approaches have been made to China; Mr. Mochtar suggests that next fall's Canton Trade Fair might be a good time to test the waters. But an Indonesian delegation recently made an official tour of Eastern Europe.

The group reported that East European countries were interested in building countertrade with Indonesia, for example, Indonesian energy and agricultural products for Europe's heavy machinery.

There is more controversy in Jakarta over potential trade links with Eastern Europe than with China, economists and Foreign Ministry officials say.

Indonesia's military is thought to be wary of allowing the mushrooming of Soviet-bloc trade missions in Indonesia, lest they turn out to have more dangerous functions. Government economists, many of them U.S.-educated, worry about the lack of market mechanisms in Eastern Europe.

But other Indonesians and diplomats here think Jakarta is concerned about being too dependent on the United States, Western Europe and Japan and is looking, as one diplomat said, "for other baskets to put its eggs in."

Indonesia's problems with the United States, economists say, are less bilateral, although textile-import restrictions rankle here as elsewhere in Asia, and more involved with international organizations.

The members of the Association of South East Asian Nations — Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, the Philippines and Brunei — are largely free enterprise economies within more or less pro-Western political systems. Throughout the region there are perplexed questions about why Washington does not look on these nations more favorably.

"ASEAN is not part of an extreme group," an Indonesian government economist said, "but the United States makes it difficult for us in international forums. We are at odds over commodity agreements and the entry of manufactured goods."

Ali Wardhana, the minister in charge of economics, finance and industry, who was educated at the University of California at Berkeley, is one of the group of influential technocrats known in Indonesia as the "Berkeley mafia." This group was among the original Suharto "brain trusters" who formulated a national development strategy after the fall of President Sukarno in the mid-1960s. That strategy emphasized the upgrading of rural life and agriculture first, so that the country could better feed itself and avoid unrest based on rural economic deprivation.

The priority appears to have been well chosen, diplomats in Jakarta say. This year the country will have a surplus rice crop and is looking forward to becoming a rice exporter. Meanwhile, attention is turned to industry.

"Two-thirds of our government revenues come from oil," Mr. Wardhana said in an interview. "To be too dependent on oil is not a wise policy. It is a depletable resource and we think there is still a lot of uncertainty over future prices."

He continued, "While our traditional exports — rubber, palm oil, coffee, tea, spices, tin — continue to grow, we are also beginning to export more processed agricultural products. Indonesia is now the

world's largest supplier of plywood."

Indonesia wants to expand textile production and enter the electronics markets. Mr. Wardhana said that although such products are also made by many other countries, "people are investing here because we have a very big market at home." Indonesia is fifth in the world in population with 160 million people.

"We hope we can reach our export target this year of \$6.1 billion of non-oil goods," he said. Oil and gas exports are expected to bring in about \$13.5 billion, he said. Indonesia is the world's largest supplier of liquefied natural gas.

Indonesia also wants to increase tourism as a source of hard currency. Hotels in Jakarta and Bali, the country's main tourist destinations, are underused most of the year, and resort areas are being developed in North Sumatra and south Sulawesi, formerly called Celebes.

Foreign economic analysts say that Indonesia continues to be plagued by discouraging and costly problems of bureaucratic obstruction, inefficiency and corruption, despite sporadic government efforts to curb the kind of scandalous dealing that led to a major shakeup in the country's national oil company, Pertamina, in the mid-1970s.

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Europeans Examine Safety After Bhopal

The Associated Press

LONDON — The Bhopal chemical plant disaster in India, one of the world's worst industrial catastrophes, has spurred some West European countries to check safety measures at chemical complexes.

But government and industry officials say they believe that a host of existing regulations, ranging from directives from the European Community to municipal statutes, already stringent enough.

"An accident like the one in India is impossible here," said a spokesman in Belgium for Bayer Antwerpen NV, which produces methyl isocyanate, the chemical that escaped from the Union Carbide Corp. plant in Bhopal killing more than 2,000 people this month.

The Bhopal disaster happened as Europe's chemical industry was finally carrying out safety measures imposed after highly toxic dioxin leaked in the northern Italian town of Seveso in July 1976.

The Seveso explosion at the Hoffman-La Roche and Co. plant near Milan killed thousands of animals and left at least 200 people, many of them children, suffering from skin disease, sterility and birth defects.

"Since the Bhopal disaster, discussions are under way to check whether the EEC needs more stringent rules," a spokeswoman at the European Community said.

Europe's chemical industry is policed by government agencies and monitored by labor union officials. Toxic chemical production is regulated by a wide range of health, safety and environmental controls.

But environmentalists warn that with many big chemical plants located in densely populated urban areas of West Germany, Britain, the Netherlands and Switzerland, Europe may be sitting on a disaster waiting to happen.

There are thousands of chemical plants in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. Britain has 1,500. Of these, 250 store large quantities of dangerous substances such as hydrogen cyanide, phosgene and acrolein.

Some are in or near centers of population. These are mainly first-generation chemical plants, often built years ago in open country now enveloped by urban sprawl.

In Britain, environmentalists say the big Canvey Island petroleum complex in the Thames River estuary 25 miles (40 kilometers) east of London is a hazardous site.

About 8,000 people live near the refineries and huge storage tanks containing liquid petroleum gas —

the same substances that exploded in Mexico and Brazil earlier this year, killing nearly 1,000 shanty-town dwellers.

Britain, more than most European countries, is secretive about the location of hazardous plants, partly because of an increasing threat of terrorism. Canvey Island was a target for IRA bombers in 1978.

Many officials want more disclosure on the potential for catastrophe in the chemical industry. However, a spokesman for the Health and Safety Executive, the government department responsible for environmental safety, opposed such disclosure, saying: "We don't want to give a shopping list to terrorists which would tell them where to plant their bombs to kill half of Liverpool."

Robert Haast, spokesman for the Dutch Environment Ministry, noted that his country's chemical safety regulations date as far back as 1870 and added that the Dutch government is "refining its risk-evaluation program" in cooperation with other nations in the European Community.

Officials of European governments, industries and labor unions said they are convinced that safety measures taken after the Seveso incident rule out a disaster on the scale of Bhopal.

Methyl isocyanate is produced or stored in Belgium, France, Britain and West Germany. Most of the European output is exported to make insecticides, vital to the economies of Third World nations.

Belgium's Environment Ministry spokesman, Jan Monballeu, said production of methyl isocyanate was halted there before the Bhopal leak because pesticides are a seasonal product. Mr. Monballeu said government officials inspected Bayer's Antwerp plant on Dec. 6 but found all safety measures operative and effective.

French Environment Minister Hugues Bouchard ordered Union Carbide to halt deliveries of methyl isocyanate from the United States to its plant at Beziers in southern France until a safety survey has been performed.

In Switzerland, Jan Kreiger, spokesman for the Ciba-Geigy company, one of the world's major chemical producers, said it does not plan to tighten safety controls.

Albert Kuhlmann, head of the West German commission of the Interior Ministry that investigates industrial accidents, said chemical companies in his country are "very security-conscious."

Pakistan Will Not Check Identities In Vote Today on Zia, Islamic Law

Reuters

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan — The Pakistani government says it will not check the identity of voters in Wednesday's referendum on stricter imposition of Islamic law.

If the proposals are approved, as is widely expected, President Zia ul-Haq will automatically receive a five-year mandate to continue his rule. He said he will step down if the plan is rejected.

The government announced Tuesday night that voters would not have to show identity cards at polling stations. It said it was responding to public demand because many Pakistanis did not have such cards.

Pakistan's chief election commissioner, Justice S.A. Nusrat, said Tuesday he was surprised by the decision to eliminate identity checks. He said he was not consulted on the matter.

"I read it in the papers for the first time this morning," Justice Nusrat said. He also said he would not resign and denied that the com-

mission's credibility had been harmed in any way.

Justice Nusrat said he thought the identity card requirement was dropped because many veiled women refused to have their photographs taken for the cards and therefore did not have them.

An estimated 20 percent of the 34 million electorate do not have identity cards.

Pakistan's banned opposition parties contend that local officials will falsify results by allowing voters in the name of registered voters who abstain or work abroad.

They also say that many of the almost three million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan may be brought in to vote in the Northwest Frontier province, where they speak the same language as the local people.

Few Pakistanis doubt that General Zia will win a majority of the vote on his efforts to enforce Islamic laws and hold general elections by March. It is the first national poll since he overthrew Prime Min-

ister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977.

The outlawed opposition parties have called for a boycott of the election. They say it exploits Islam to extend General Zia's rule, and contend that the results would be rigged in the three days between the voting and the official announcement of the outcome.

Newspapers have been banned from publishing anything against the referendum and opposition leaders have been barred from leaving their home areas. General Zia made a 10-day whirlwind national tour, making speeches and campaign promises to whip up support for the vote he called Dec. 1.

The opposition says dozens of referendum critics have been arrested for canvassing against the poll. They appear to have had little success in urging people not to vote.

"They are not interested because they know Zia will win anyway," one disappointed opposition politician said. "Zia's real challenge is to get them out to vote."

Australia Protests Mitterrand Remark On 18th Century Killing of Aborigines

Reuters

CANBERRA, Australia — Australia on Tuesday protested remarks by President François Mitterrand of France that indigenous aborigines in Australia were not a problem because they had been killed, calling them "offensive and inaccurate."

The French ambassador, Jean-Bernard Mérimée, was summoned to the Foreign Affairs Department in Canberra to receive what officials described as a robust 30-minute protest.

The protest marked a further deterioration in relations between the two countries over the French Pacific territory of New Caledonia, where indigenous Melanesians have been seeking independence.

The dispute blew up on Nov. 27 when Foreign Minister Bill Hayden of Australia, who supports early independence for the French territory, called it "one of the last vestiges of colonialism in the South Pacific."

Mr. Mitterrand on Sunday called Australia's stand on New Caledonia astonishing and said in a television interview that "there is no longer any indigenous population in Australia because it has been killed. This is not the way France wants to solve the problem of New Caledonia."

White European settlers killed

many aborigines after landing in Australia nearly 200 years ago. There are now approximately 180,000 aborigines in Australia, which has a population of 15 million.

Mr. Mérimée was told that what had happened in the past to aborigines was irrelevant regarding New Caledonia, which lies about 1,500 miles (2,434 kilometers) northeast of Australia.

"President Mitterrand's remarks were also offensive and inaccurate," an Australian government source said.

Australia wants France to hold a referendum on independence for New Caledonia sooner than the one planned for 1989.

The Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front, which says it represents most of the island's Melanesians, or Kanaks, wants immediate independence from France.

Independence is opposed by most of the Europeans, Polynesians and Asians who make up 57 percent of New Caledonia's 145,000 people.

The French special envoy to New Caledonia said Tuesday that even though the majority of people on the island wanted to remain a part of France, the "opposite reasoning" of the separatists must be considered. United Press International reported from Paris.

The envoy, Edgar Pisani, told the Paris newspaper Liberation that even the separatists did not envisage a "complete break with France." He also said that his job

was to "encourage gradual development and anticipate change rather than be confronted by it."

■ **Nouméa Official's Speech**

Dick Ukeive, president of the New Caledonia territorial government elected Nov. 18, said Tuesday that he and other officials would oppose any move by the French government to grant early independence, Agency France-Press reported from Nouméa. He said that France "can't impose anything on us."

Meanwhile Tuesday, authorities said the body of a man of European descent was found in Hingahie, a town on New Caledonia's eastern coast. That death brought to 13 the number of people killed since late November in violence between the pro- and anti-independence factions.

■ **Lange Sees Independence**

Prime Minister David Lange of New Zealand said Tuesday that he thought France would promise independence to New Caledonia by 1986, Agency France-Press reported from Wellington, New Zealand. Mr. Lange said that a process "of very firm decolonization" was under way in the territory.

■ **U.S. Statehood Urged**

Members of one small political party have been campaigning to have New Caledonia declared the 51st American state, saying that only the United States can solve its problems. The Associated Press reported from Nouméa.



André Laug, the fashion designer, with some of his models.

André Laug, a Designer Of Clothes, Dies in Italy

The Associated Press

ROME — André Laug, 53, one of Italy's leading fashion designers who enjoyed great success in the United States, died Sunday of emphysema.

The French-born designer moved to Rome in 1963 and a few years later opened a showroom for his high-fashion clothes near the Spanish Steps.

He was known for a clean, neatly tailored look that found particular success with American women.

Ngo Dinh Thuc, 87,

Ex-Archbishop of Huế

VATICAN CITY (AP) — The Most Reverend Pierre Martin Ngô Dinh Thuc, 87, the excommunicated former Roman Catholic archbishop of Huế, Vietnam, has died, the Vatican reported Monday. He was the brother of Ngô Dinh Diem, the South Vietnamese president who was assassinated in 1963.

The Vatican, in a statement, also

said Pope John Paul II had pardoned Archbishop Thuc after the prelate wrote a letter on May 22 "repenting his errors and asking forgiveness for causing a scandal."

The Vatican said the archbishop died in the United States on Thursday. He was excommunicated in 1976 for ordaining, without clearing with the Vatican, a number of bishops in Spain. He was forgiven almost immediately by Pope Paul VI, but was excommunicated again in 1983 for consecrating bishops without papal authority.

■ **Other Deaths**

Max Schönberr, 81, an Austrian composer and conductor Thursday in Vienna. He was known for his German-language operettas, as well as numerous compositions for solo piano and orchestra. He also wrote several books about famous musicians.

Valery I. Popkov, 76, a specialist in high-voltage engineering, Tass said Sunday.

UN Approves Measure On 'State Terrorism'

The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The UN General Assembly has adopted a Soviet-sponsored resolution, by a vote of 117 to 0, condemning "state terrorism," but the United States and 29 other members, mostly Western, abstained.

Jose S. Sorzano, deputy UN representative of the United States, said it was "shameless" of the Soviet Union to offer a measure condemning acts "in which they themselves systematically engage." He called the action "an exercise in multilateral cynicism" and spoke of the "ghastly record of Soviet terror."

The resolution, approved Monday, urges respect for the sovereignty and political independence of states and their right to choose freely, without outside interference, their own political and economic systems.

The Soviet Union's deputy representative, Richard Ovinnikov, said the resolution was clearly aimed at the United States.

The Soviet foreign minister, Andrei A. Gromyko, introduced the resolution when he addressed the assembly in Geneva.

The resolution "condemns policies and practices of terrorism in relations between states" and demands "that all states take no action aimed at military intervention and occupation" or the undermining or destabilization of governments or political systems of states.

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"and to cease forthwith any such action already in progress."

Sir John Thomson, the British ambassador, noting the provision opposing military intervention, asked: "What about Hungary? What about Afghanistan?" referring to Soviet troops crushing an anti-government revolt in Hungary in 1956 and to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan since 1979.

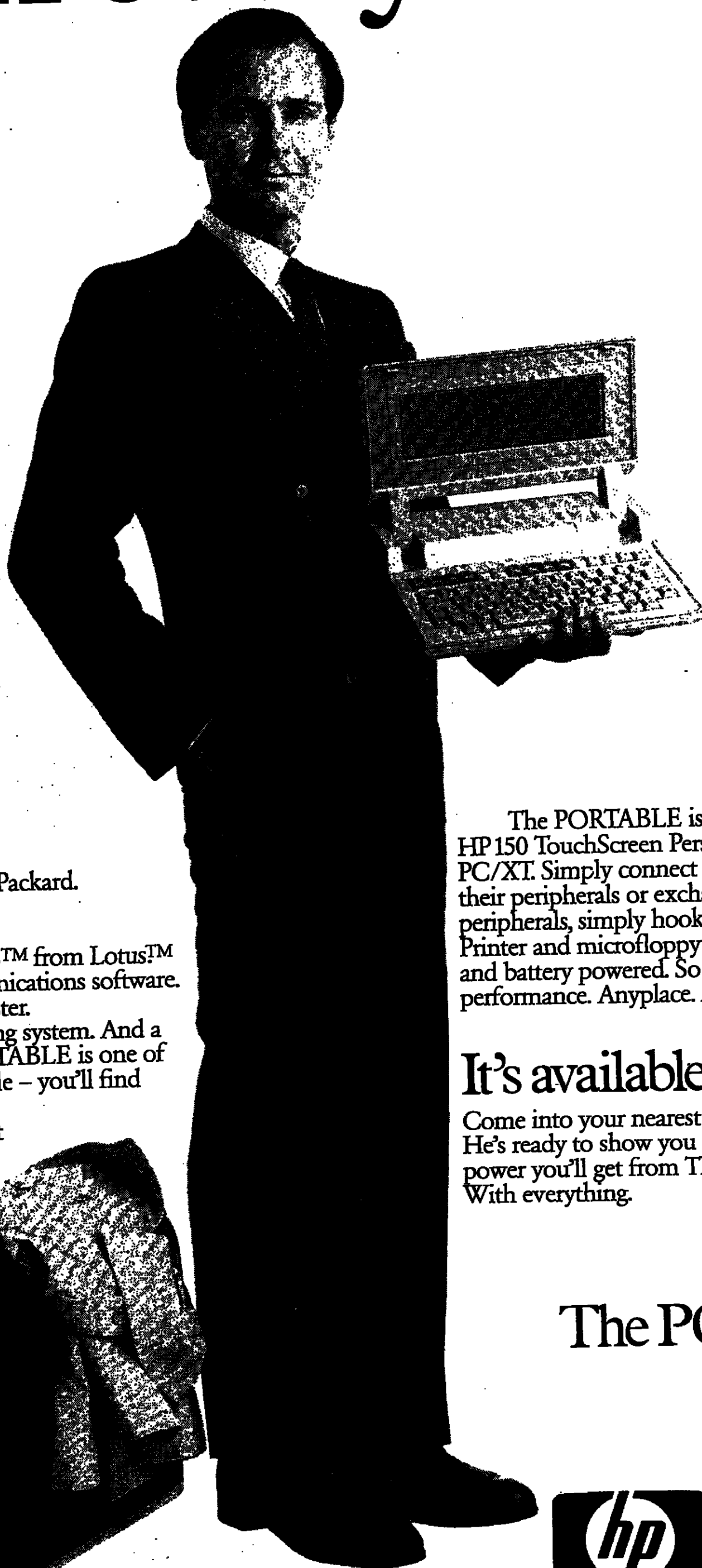
Iranian Embassy Accused in Blast

The Associated Press

Hewlett-Packard announces...

The PORTABLE

with everything.



Everything.

The power of a personal computer.
Yet fits in your briefcase.

That's The PORTABLE from Hewlett-Packard.
The PORTABLE with everything.

Here's the inside story.

Built-in business software. Such as 1-2-3™ from Lotus™
MemoMaker word processing. Plus communications software.
And because it's all built-in, it runs much faster.

Industry standard MSTM-DOS operating system. And a
full 16-bit microprocessor. In fact, The PORTABLE is one of
the fastest running PCs - desktop or portable - you'll find
anywhere.

More memory than you'll find in most
desktop personal computers - a total of
656K bytes. Including 272K bytes of
user memory. The result: plenty
of workspace. And plenty of
memory for days of work
away from your desk.

The PORTABLE gives
you plenty of room to see
your work, including graphics.
With its high quality 16 line
by 80 column display.

You can count on the
rechargeable, built-in batteries
for 16 hours of continuous
use. They keep your data
absolutely secure for up to a
year. Thanks to Continuous
Memory.

The PORTABLE is the ideal companion to your
HP 150 TouchScreen Personal Computer or IBM™
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He's ready to show you how much personal computing
power you'll get from The PORTABLE.
With everything.

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HEWLETT PACKARD

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

An Arm Against Torture

Torture is universally denounced — often most loudly by governments that employ it. So there was no dissent on Dec. 10 when the United Nations approved a Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Such declarations are routinely flouted, but they set norms by which surviving victims may shame their tormentors. For that reason alone, the U.S. Senate should ratify this convention.

Torture is increasing. Amnesty International has compiled evidence that indicates a third of the world's governments. Its catalogue of horrors ranges from alleged use of heated skewers in Syria to Turkey's *falaka*, beating the soles of feet. Electric shocks are widely favored; they leave no scars. Neither do the drugs employed against dissenters in Soviet "psychiatric" hospitals. Most torture victims are political prisoners from whom "confessions" are needed.

As shaped by years of negotiation, the UN convention sets standards of accountability. It

precludes "superior orders" as a defense for torturers, meaning that such orders should be disobeyed. It proclaims itself universally applicable, meaning that torture should be punishable anywhere. Usefully, also, the signatories undertake not to extradite refugees back to countries where they may be tortured. Reliable complaints are held to be grounds for investigation.

A special UN committee is to concern itself with the problem, although its jurisdiction has been narrowed by a Soviet-bloc amendment.

The convention remains a potent document, owing much to a determined campaign led by the Netherlands. Americans should welcome the effort. Two months ago President Reagan signed a congressional resolution denouncing all torture "without regard to ideological or regional considerations." Prompt Senate hearings looking toward ratification would give resonance to that condemnation.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

How to Relate to Warsaw

Put aside for the moment the ugly news from Poland about police violence against Solidarity demonstrators, and suspicions of government complicity in the murder of an outspoken priest. The Reagan administration is right to ease U.S. sanctions against Poland and to end its opposition to Polish membership in the International Monetary Fund.

Sanctions sometimes must be invoked for moral purposes, without real hope of influencing conduct. But at other times they can in fact function as limited incentives. That is the announced purpose of the sanctions that Washington has left in force against Warsaw. Using the sanction as an incentive can work both ways. Calibrating rewards can be fully as important as calibrating punishments.

Last summer, when the Jaruzelski regime declared a broad amnesty, the United States promised that Washington's opposition to Polish membership in the IMF would cease if the amnesty was carried out in good faith. With the release this month of the last two remaining notable political prisoners, that condition

was met, and the Reagan administration has now responded appropriately. There is a real question whether the two Bogdan Lis and Piotr Mierzejewski would have been freed without this explicit American pressure.

The timing of Washington's announcement will please America's West European allies, who have themselves been normalizing relations with Warsaw. They have large loans outstanding to Poland, and its prospective IMF membership probably improves repayment prospects. In a few days, 17 of Poland's creditor countries will be meeting to discuss possible debt rescheduling.

Overall, the human rights performance of General Jaruzelski's government leaves a great deal to be desired. But other U.S. sanctions remain in force to provide continuing leverage — including the most important, the denial of preferential trade treatment called "most-favored-nation" status. To its credit, the administration has dealt out its available carrots and sticks in just the right proportions.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Private Aid to Insurgents

Congress has cut off funds for CIA assistance to the *contras* fighting the Sandinist government in Nicaragua, but private groups in the United States have tried to fill the gap. Recent news accounts quote a retired general who claims that \$500,000 a month is being raised from individuals and organizations and that millions of dollars have already been sent to Central America. There is irony in the situation because the sending of this aid, which serves the foreign policy objectives of the administration, might well have been labeled as criminal if Congress had passed "anti-terrorist" legislation sought by the White House.

Last spring President Reagan sent four anti-terrorism bills to the Hill. Three were enacted but the fourth, which was especially awful, is back at the Justice Department being redrafted. The proposal would have created a crime — aiding terrorism — without stipulating who terrorists are or what acts in support of terrorism would be banned. The secretary of state would have been given the discretion to name certain groups as terrorists. While he probably would have cited the Libyan government, the PLO and the IRA, he could in theory have included some South African rebels, guerrillas in El Salvador and the *contras* in Nicaragua.

Once the groups had been named, Americans could have been prosecuted for providing "support services." The bill would allow medical supplies — but what about food, money, uniforms, educational materials and welfare for fighters' families? Private groups aiding the *contras* are sending most of these. An organizer explains that "non-lethal" aid "drives the Communists nuts" because it increases good will toward the United States and allows local armies to spend more money on arms.

Many kinds of aid to rebels or terrorists are already illegal — unauthorized arms sales, for example, or prohibited currency transactions. So is aiding and abetting murder or participating in a conspiracy to kill. But the vague and sweeping language of the administration's proposal might have criminalized grass-roots fund-raising that donors believe is for humanitarian reasons or in the cause of a just political uprising. These are undoubtedly the motives of the people now aiding the *contras* with the encouragement of the U.S. government.

The administration's bill is so revised. If it is not possible or useful to redraft it so that it is directed at specific criminal acts not already unlawful, it should be junked.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Opinion

Time for Vietnam to Go Home

Continued military occupation of Kampuchea by Vietnam will never bring about peace and security. Vietnam [should] allow Heng Samrin's government to meet President Norodom Sihanouk's coalition and let those Kampuchean leaders solve their problems. Vietnam can contribute a great deal to peace and security in this region by stopping the current dry season offensive and withdrawing its troops from the Thai-Kampuchea border areas. It would be in the interest of Vietnam if it listened to world opinion once in a while.

— The Jakarta Post.

Technology to Feed Africans

African farmers need the chance to return to standing on their own feet. They need the aid, immediately, of modern technology. The grain mountains rotting in sheds in Europe are an

obscenity when juxtaposed with the pictures from Ethiopia, Chad and the other worst-hit areas. But equally obscene is the fact that so much technological know-how is going into "star wars" weapons systems, while so many thousands are starving to death.

Surely there exist satellites which can be given the capability to detect underground water sources in the stricken areas? Surely such sources can be tapped for irrigation? It must be possible to utilize the killing heat from the sun that is laying everything to waste in the Sahel for powering pumps that can bring water to the surface from deep down.

The richest countries could bring the benefits of technology to the doors of the starving communities, if they really wished. It would be repaying something of the colonial debt — the contribution of resources and labor by the African peoples — that has helped to underpin the prosperity of Europe and America.

— *Carroll Dwyer in The Observer (London).*

FROM OUR DEC. 19 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1909: Mexico Denies U.S. Suspicions
WASHINGTON — Just when Mexico's activities on behalf of Nicaragua's President José Santos Zelaya were becoming a matter of suspicion, the Mexican Embassy asked the Herald to publish a statement handed out by the Charge d'Affaires from Señor Creel, in which he denied the following charges: That Mexico had any intention of warring with Guatemala; that Mexico had made representations to U.S. Secretary of State Philander C. Knox upholding President Zelaya; that Mexico had said any word about the life of Zelaya or safe conduct for him out of Nicaragua; that the U.S. State Department had made any expression differing from the Mexican view; that the issue in Nicaragua was large enough to disturb relations between Mexico and America.

1934: American Reformers Organize
WASHINGTON — If all the shades of political thought in America can be grouped into two classifications, conservative and the opposite of conservative, it is the latter who are now most energetic. The Socialist Mr. Upton Sinclair is working to extend his reform movement. Epic (End Poverty in California). Father Charles E. Coughlin is calling for five million persons to unite in a movement whose objectives include fairly radical purposes, fiscal, economic and social. In the Middle West there is rivalry between the new Progressive party of Wisconsin and the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota. Nowhere in the area of conservative political thought is there anything to match the busy organization activity and salesmanship of the liberals and radicals.

Cambodia: Ignored Victims of Faraway Policymakers

By Diana Kerry

NEW YORK — Cambodia's season of war has come early this year. In a jungle, a refugee camp of bamboo and thatch was overrun by the Vietnamese and their Heng Samrin henchmen just a few weeks ago. It was a short item on the inside pages of Western newspapers, a brief reminder of a distant war.

Another item of a decade of agony and the genocide of several million Cambodians is powerfully projected in the new film "The Killing Fields." For just over two hours in a darkened theater we are confronted with the human dimensions of Cambodia's tragedy.

The film forces viewers to recall that the United States bears a large share of responsibility for Cambodia's suffering.

It delivers a strong indictment of the world's leaders, who pondered their options "with no concern for the people, the society or the country except in the abstract, as instruments of policy." The movie's own story ends happily, but Cambodia's torment continues.

The children of the killing fields are still caught in the cross fire. The people of Nong Chan, the recent victims in the renewed round of war, huddle in an evacuation waiting to rebuild their lives. This is not the first time.

After surviving the Khmer Rouge regime of terror and starvation for four years, in 1979 many of them fled to the safety of neighboring Thailand in the early days of the Vietnamese invasion. Since then most of those refugees have waited for peace in some 20 United Nations-assisted camps carved out of the jungle along Thailand's eastern border.

Nong Chan has been destroyed before. Less than two years ago Vietnamese shells completely razed the camp, and 40,000 Khmer took refuge in one of the open tank ditches that serve as Thailand's frontier defense. Grabbing cooking pots and children, refugees moved from the evacuation site to temporary encampment and back again. Finally, 15 months and five moves later, many former residents returned to rebuild a new Nong Chan less than half a mile from the old site. They began construction spontaneously even before UN relief officials could deliver necessary building materials.

A hospital and a school were almost finished when enemy shells landed close to the camp's periphery last April. The security alert went up to level three — meaning that relief workers must leave — on more than one occasion. Refugee women, members of the camp's women's association, made arrangements to work for hospital patients while relief workers distributed food rations for the emergency.

But the monsoon rains arrived early and the Nong Chan camp was spared. Children squatted in the schoolyard shaping their letters in the mud while camp workers put the last layers of thatch on the classroom roof.

During the last dry season seven border en-

campments had to escape across Thai tank ditches in a single month; as many as 80,000 displaced people were displaced yet again. Last April it was Ampil, home of 30,000 Khmer, which bore the brunt of the Vietnamese offensive. It was just after the Buddhist New Year when shells slammed into the camp, scoring direct hits on a hospital and a school and setting tinderbox houses of bamboo alight.

Thousands of evacuees sought refuge in shelters built of leaves and blue plastic at a site beside a tank ditch. Thousands more settled further into the forest and had to walk several kilometers for the water and food rations provided by the World Food Program's border relief operation. Monks, teachers and mothers settled into the routine of survival, waiting and hoping to return "home" soon.

The people are resilient, but repeated disruptions take their toll, particularly among the "vulnerable groups" — small children, pregnant women, nursing mothers, the elderly.

Malnutrition rises dramatically in the

months after an attack. With the interruption of supplementary feeding and nutrition programs, underweight infants and small children are the first to suffer. Women who are busy building shelters and digging wells do not have time to cook and care for families properly, to supplement their rations with camp-grown vegetables or to earn extra food for work. During times of stress, health workers can trace as high as three times the average rate of malnutrition among the children under 5.

Other medical problems become prevalent, too. The annual dry season offensive coincides with the region's worst months for malaria, when puddles and pools are breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Despite precautions, the risk of infection increases when large groups of people move into jungle areas previously unpopulated.

Malaria, in turn, can lead to severe anemia, which taxes a limited blood supply already drained by the casualties of war. Last year there was a drastic shortage of healthy blood.

None of this makes headlines. On a remote

scale of world crises, the ongoing story of a quarter of a million refugees in the Cambodian border camps does not rank with the suffering of the many millions starving in Ethiopia, or even of thousands killed at Bhopal in India.

In a world inured to disaster, it is only when the shooting starts in the jungle scrub that we remember the distant war and note the "action" there. Yet Cambodia's crisis is precisely its in-terminable inaction. In the words of Sir Robert Jackson, the recently retired UN official in charge of Cambodian relief, the situation is "sheer, unending bloody tragedy."

On the Thai border a year's passage is marked by the hopeless cycle of war and waiting, while the world's powers are frozen in diplomatic deadlock. As the West enters its season of holiday cheer, Cambodia faces another grim season of war. If the world continues to treat the people of Cambodia as instruments of policy, this will not be the last.

The writer, a teacher and free-lance writer, recently visited the border camps. She contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

A Film to Help Outsiders Recall 'Killing Fields'

By Anthony Lewis

BOSTON — The most compelling experience I have had in a theater in years has been watching the new movie "The Killing Fields." It is about the horrors visited on Cambodia between 1973 and 1979, and about the relationship between two reporters who were there — Sydney Schanberg of The New York Times and his assistant, Dith Pran.

But the film has a deeper subject, a deeper purpose, or so I understand.

I was at a showing for students and faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At the end Mr. Schanberg and Mr. Pran came on stage for questions, along with Sam Waterston, who plays Mr. Schanberg in the film.

First Mr. Waterston put a question to the audience: "How many of you did not know that these things happened?" A third of the people in the large hall raised their hands.

So a third of that elite audience had never heard about the American intervention in Cambodia, with its devastating consequences, or about the nightmare years of mass murder under the Khmer Rouge. Historical memory has never been a strong point in the American character; Americans look forward, not back. But it was eerie to find that intelligent Americans knew nothing about events so terrible and so recent — events for which America bears some responsibility. What the film says is that it is necessary to remember.

"The Killing Fields" brings home the reality

of what happened to Cambodia in images of extraordinary power that are beyond the ability of words to convey. Many things on the screen are hard to bear: shattered bodies, human cruelty, pervasive fear. But none is gratuitous, sensation for sensation's sake.

First there was the American bombing. After the Vietnam truce in 1973, all available B-52s and other planes were used to bomb Cambodia. The movie shows the gruesome results of the "accidental" B-52 bombing of Neak Luong, near Phnom Penh. Just why it happened we do not know, but we understand that it is an example of much more — and that it is the result of American politicians playing super-power games without concern for the human consequences in Cambodia.

U.S. officials tried to keep Mr. Schanberg away from Neak Luong. They tried to keep the world from knowing what had happened. Mr. Schanberg is shown as driven, obsessive in his determination to tell the story.

In April 1975 the Khmer Rouge took over, and fanaticism was king. Not many of the great film epics have touched the emotions as grippingly as "The Killing Fields" does in the scene of the young revolutionaries driving the whole population of Phnom Penh out of the city.

The Khmer Rouge tried to expunge history.

They declared that they were beginning at Year Zero. They killed anyone suspected of being an intellectual, a doctor, a teacher. They enslaved the country. That all this could be suggested successfully in a film I would not have believed, but it is. In scenes of what happened to Mr. Pran we sense, we fear the larger horror.

The dramatic crux of the story is that Mr. Schanberg got out as a foreigner, but Mr. Pran could not. Back in the United States, Mr. Schanberg lived with his guilt for not somehow saving his friend. Meanwhile, in the prison that was Cambodia, Mr. Pran thought letters to his friend Sydney. Some film reviewers have criticized this device as artificial.

I think they have missed the point. Through the ages, political prisoners have found the strength to survive in part through determination to tell their stories. They have hidden bits of paper, scratched on the walls of cells. They thus reaffirm their belief that there is a better humanity. They reaffirm life.

Mr. Pran was doing that when he thought his letters to Mr. Schanberg. He was also carrying out, mentally, their joint commitment to journalism, to history, to memory. The film is the expression of that commitment.

Mr. Pran, who works as a New York Times photographer now, said after the showing that all day he thinks about New York — but his nightmares are about Cambodia.

The New York Times.

Bhopal: How to Expedite Compensation Payments

By Robert E. Stein

WASHINGTON — The rush of American lawyers descending on Bhopal last week was both insulting and inappropriate. The accident at the Union Carbide insecticide plant was a tragedy. There is a danger of a further tragedy unless more thought goes into the effort to compensate victims and relatives.

Suing, either in the United States or India, should be a measure of last resort. Other approaches would better maximize the return to the victims in the shortest time while minimizing the costs to third parties.

Certainly, a flexible claims procedure is needed to get funds to the victims as quickly as possible. But it need not be decided upon in a courtroom. The American lawyers who went to Bhopal opted immediately for American rather than Indian courts. But not even the American legal system has acquired itself well in cases involving mass accidents. It simply takes too long and often seems designed to put money into lawyers' pockets rather than provide prompt compensation for victims.

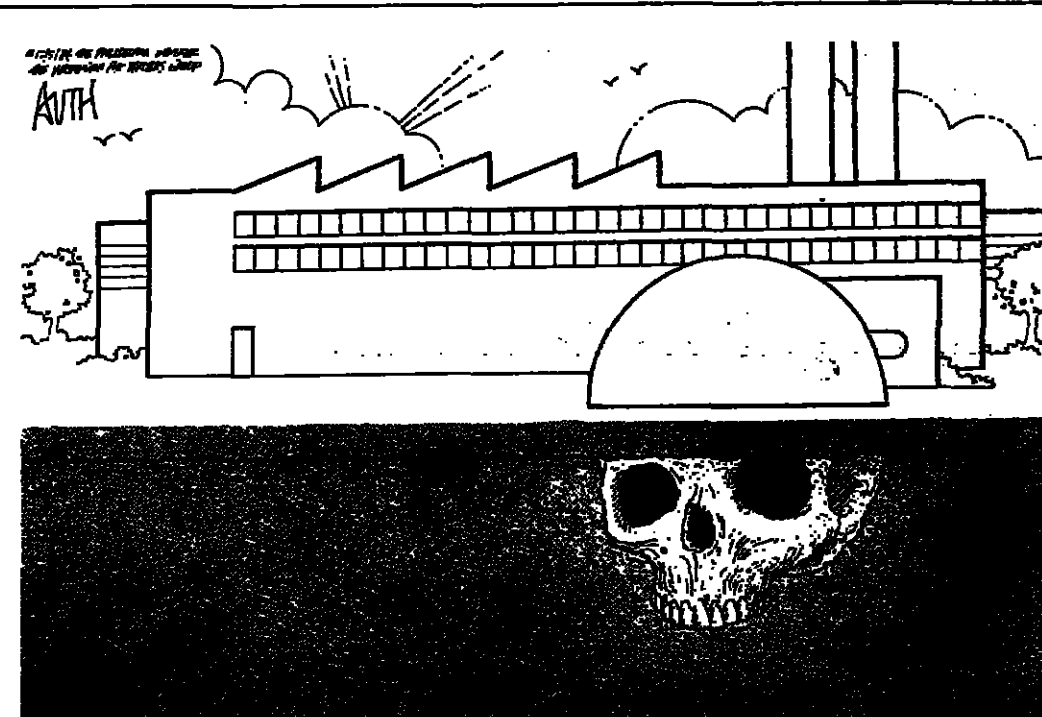
In recent cases involving asbestos, only 37 percent of the compensation demanded in such cases from 1980 to 1982 actually got to the victims. Legal fees and expenses drained off the other 63 percent. And many years elapsed before the victims received any compensation at all.

Several other cases in the United States, settled out of court, could provide useful precedents. Victims of Agent Orange were compensated under an accelerated, court-supervised procedure. Industry and environmental groups are using negotiation to settle claims on costs for hazardous-waste dumps.

In the Bhopal case, the Indian government should take the lead in making sure that victims are compensated through an independent compensation procedure based on an agreement between plaintiffs and defendants. How would it work?

First, the facts must be assessed. The questions that need to be answered are: Who was injured and to what extent? Less important are why there was an accident and who was at fault. Resolving those questions would be crucial in a courtroom, but it is far less significant if the owners express a willingness to compensate all victims fairly.

Second, the Indian government should create a victims' advocate — someone who could help explain the different avenues open to victims and protect them from rapacious practices. Such a person — or team of people — could also make sure that all victims are filing claims and that they are filed properly. Such representatives would also try to ensure that the claims were handled



with compassion and without excessive bureaucratic formalities.

Third, the Indian government, Union Carbide and the victims' advocate should work together to evaluate the criteria to be used in paying damages to victims, including those with injuries that will become worse in the future. Should payment be based on compensation or punitive damages? Should it depend on the extent of damage or the victims' status — earning capacity, age, sex?

Fourth, the government should collect enough money to pay all

claims — from whomever is deemed responsible — and distribute it as quickly and efficiently as possible.

Arbitration and mediation have been very effective in America. There is no reason why they should not work in India. Of course, victims who choose to pursue litigation should be given that choice. But they should have no illusions about how long such a course would take and what they are likely to recover.

Union Carbide has recognized its responsibility. Its attitude, since the disaster struck, has been forthright.

Faced with a big law suit, however, it might well hunker down.

Union Carbide's responsibility is not the only or even the most important question at issue. Rather, we must proceed from where we are now to find the best way to compensate the victims of this tragedy.

The writer, a lawyer, is president of Environmental Mediation International, which mediates disputes over the environment and natural resources. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Why OPEC's Clout Will Keep Waning

By Joseph Stanislaw and Daniel Yergin

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — Ministers of OPEC, meeting this week in Geneva, face an oil market that is moving away from them in terms both of whose oil is sold and of OPEC's ability to manage the price. The ministers obviously realize that. What may be less clear is when and how long this situation will last.

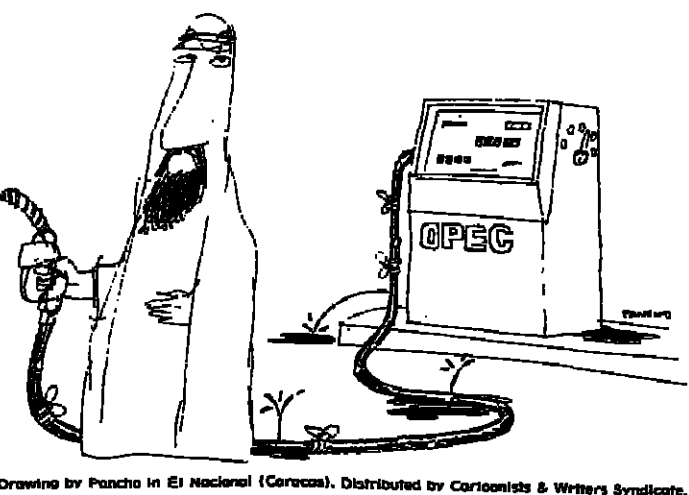
Oil consumption in the industrial world is about 18 percent below 1979. But that in itself is only part of OPEC's problem. Just as important is the growth of oil production elsewhere. OPEC simply counts for much less than it did in the 1970s.

In 1976 OPEC produced 17.7 billion barrels of oil for every barrel of non-OPEC oil. Today it produces 0.7 barrel for every barrel of non-OPEC oil. That change results, to a large measure, from the development of three major oil regions — Alaska, the North Sea and Mexico.

If non-OPEC production had remained in 1984 where it was in 1976, OPEC would be producing 24 to 25 million barrels a day, not 16 to 17 million, and no one would be talking about falling prices. As it is, market forces are relentlessly beating on the OPEC system, pushing prices down. A huge oil surplus seeks buyers, and oil has been losing customers to other fuels, such as coal in America and natural gas in Western Europe.

There is a third reason for the current oil drama. More and more oil is sold on the open market at spot and spot-related prices that are determined by thousands of buyers and sellers, not by oil ministers. A central factor now is that two key non-OPEC producers, Britain and Norway, are having trouble deciding whether they want to be part of the growing open market or to try to cooperate with OPEC in maintaining prices.

It is striking how OPEC has man-



Not All Refugees Fit In

Regarding "Children of Indochina Determined to Build New Life in America" (Insights, Nov. 21).

Robert Cole's report was poignant. Unfortunately, it was also somewhat misleading. It left the sense that refugees are remarkably resilient people, able to leave their fears behind and ready to move right into the American mainstream. These are remarkable qualities that remarkable numbers of recent refugees have indeed exhibited. But the full story includes equally impressive numbers of refugees who are living out new nightmares in the United States.

In 1982, as a research associate in Washington at the Center for the Study of Social Policy, I conducted more than 80 interviews across the country. Cases that come to mind include a Vietnamese couple in their late 50s who had lived in San Jose, California, for 15 months without yet making friends. The mother indicated through an interpreter that their three children were working at school but having a hard time adjusting. She and her husband had given up on their English lessons after boarding the wrong bus coming home from class one evening and finding themselves lost for several hours. Besides, the woman rationalized, the bus fare could better be used for food.

In Des Moines, Iowa, a family from northern Laos had several young children and two teenagers who all slept in a poorly heated living room. They had been in the United States for 16 months and neither parent had found any work, although both teenagers worked newspaper routes. The father worried about what would happen to his family when his public assistance payments were cut off in two months if he was still unable to find work. He said that

at his age it was hard to learn a new language and new skills. The home had been broken into and the father threw several bolt locks as I left.

And so on. While I met many individuals and families who were leaving to feel at home, I also met many who were suffering — often terribly isolated by poverty, the language barrier, fears and other problems. The American dream still exists for many newcomers, but it would be wrong to think that all refugees find America such an entirely welcome change.

LORNA POTTER WALKER
Bologna, Italy.

Add America to the List

Regarding the opinion column "Gangling Up to Arm Khmeim" (Dec. 13) by Philip Geyelin.

A very important party was missing from Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz's list of arms suppliers to Iran: Uncle Sam. The United States has been supplying Iran through countries like Israel.

Along with most of America's friends, Washington has based its policy in this matter on the belief that while Iraq and Iran are busy trying to annihilate one another, they are not engaged in spreading their influence throughout the Middle East.

KRISTI CARROLL-LORIN
Epiney-sous-Sensat, France.

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INSIGHTS

Jaruzelski: A Puppet or Patriot? Priest's Murder Renews the Debate

By Michael T. Kaufman
New York Times Service

WARSAW — The meal was plain, and outside a chill November wind blew through Warsaw's dark and empty streets. But, as befits a Polish get-together, the conversation at the dinner table was lively and extravagant, mixing politics and history, religion and literature.

The point under debate, raised by one of the Polish guests, a writer, was the true political nature of Poland's austerous and aloof current leader, the army general and Communist Party chief Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Is he the puppet that he is still regarded as being by many Poles and by most people in the West? Or is he a patriot who did what he felt he had to do to save the nation from a worse fate?

There was no consensus at the dinner table. Nor have Poles at large rendered a definitive verdict. Yet the riddle that has surrounded the Polish leader seems all the more significant now, as, for the second time since the rise of the Solidarity trade union, he faces a new domestic challenge, this time one that extends into his own secret police.

The recent murder of a popular Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Jerzy Popieluszko, and the announcement that three Polish security officers have been arrested and charged with the crime, have left the Jaruzelski government severely shaken.

Somewhere inside this police-state system there are people — perhaps a hard-line faction for whom the general's policies do not go far enough — who apparently are out to incite public disorder, embarrass the government, even bring it down. How the general reacts to the potentially explosive new crisis may well depend on who, politically speaking, he really is.

It is not easy to imagine what he can do to counteract his image of Soviet underling in the eyes of Solidarity's beleaguered leadership and the millions of Poles who once gave the movement its strength. They still remember how much, and against what odds, their crusade achieved. And they cannot forgive him for bringing it all down.

WHAT is alleged by General Jaruzelski's defenders is that he did not betray Poland but saved it, that he imposed martial law in the nick of time to forestall Soviet military intervention, Soviet occupation and even, according to some, the prospect of mass deportations of Poles to the east.

His career could not have prospered without the approval of the Soviet leadership, which must have found him adequately Marxist-Leninist in outlook. Nonetheless, despite his long service — he has been on the party's Politburo twice as long as any other member — his political beliefs have been a matter of speculation.

"He is a Sphinx," said Krzysztof Topol, a widely read literary and cultural critic. "No one



General Wojciech Jaruzelski faces a new challenge over the Popieluszko murder.

really knows which side of this divided society he will eventually support." There is, however, a widely held notion that General Jaruzelski is neither an ideologue nor a political idealist but a tactician, whose chief concern is with possibilities, not with wishes or hopes.

In his personal life, the general projects Spartan, ascetic values. Last month his salary was raised to 94,192 zlotys (\$750) a month. He continues to live in the modest house he bought on the outskirts of Warsaw, and he is driven to work without fanfare. His wife is a linguist specializing in Germanic languages. His only daughter is a law student at Warsaw University, and one rumor credits her with a boyfriend in the Solidarity camp.

On the whole, his image is that of a puritan who wants to instill a sense of probity and discipline among the party apparatchiks and

managers, who are widely regarded as an incompetent and corrupt lot, motivated more by petty greed and personal ambition than by any ideological vision. Early in his term as prime minister and first secretary, he would make "surprise visits" to shops and factories, checking to see if all was well.

Partly because of such campaigns, the general has managed to reduce a good deal of the hatred that was directed at him personally. The public attitude toward him improved markedly when the last 652 Solidarity detainees were released under an amnesty in July.

THAT, it seems clear, was the amnesty's objective. For the last two years, with the relaxation of martial law, General Jaruzelski has been following a deliberate policy of "normalization."

The real architect of that policy is Mieczyslaw

Rakowski, a longtime mainstay of the comparatively liberal wing of Polish officialdom. Mr. Rakowski, a deputy prime minister, was the chief negotiator with the Solidarity leader Lech Walesa during the independent union's days of glory.

After the curtain of martial law fell, it was Mr. Rakowski and his allies who organized the program of step-by-step normalization. This involved some dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church, amnesty for political prisoners and an attempt to project an atmosphere of reconciliation with Polish society.

Ultimately, the program looked forward to a restoration of normal relations with the governments of Western Europe and the United States, which had severed contacts and much-needed economic aid in condemning the 1981 crackdown.

In these efforts, Mr. Rakowski, and at times the general, have been opposed by the hard-liners in the party and the government. These people, known as the "hardheads" or the "concrete" faction, favor stronger police controls, tighter censorship and fewer economic contacts with the West. And, at the very least, they do not disavow their anti-Solidarity supporters, while projecting themselves both as Polish nationalists and as realistic party men loyal to the Soviet Union.

In a country where so much depends on how Polish events are assessed in Moscow, a crucial question for General Jaruzelski has been which of the two tendencies within the Polish party and the government was being favored by the Soviet leaders. Here, despite the conservative tastes of the aged men in the Kremlin, all that can be said with any certainty is that the Russians have maintained lines of communication and patronage with both camps.

Hence, when General Jaruzelski adopted the Rakowski program as his own, he had reason to feel that the light flashing from Moscow was green, or at least amber.

UNTIL just over a month ago, he was making headway. At home, the Solidarity dissidents, their leaders out of jail, were having trouble mobilizing around a sharply defined issue. Appeals for mass demonstrations fizzled; there were no strikes at the big factories; coal miners were producing more than ever.

Abroad, Western governments were making tepid overtures and resuming official contacts. President Ronald Reagan announced that some of the U.S. sanctions were being lifted.

Through the summer and early fall, the mood in Warsaw seemed at times almost lighthearted. The riot police stayed out of sight. All over the country, men and women hawked the hundreds of illegally published books and magazines that have been fueling the underground culture. The lines in front of the stores seemed to be shortening; the government had managed to restock some shelves.

It would be wrong to say that there was a growing number of people who were with the government, but General Jaruzelski's supporters could justly assert that there were growing numbers of people who were no longer strongly against the government.

Then came the murder of Father Popieluszko. On the night of Friday, Oct. 18, the slight, 37-year-old priest was returning to Warsaw from the city of Bydgoszcz, 150 miles (243 kilometers) away, where he had preached his usual thinly veiled sermon of faith in the Solidarity cause.

As reported since by government and church sources, Father Popieluszko and his driver were stopped by three members of the security police. The priest was beaten, trussed up and thrown into the trunk of an unmarked police car. His driver was handcuffed. As the kidnappers made off with their victims, the driver rolled out of the speeding automobile and escaped.

ELEVEN days later, acting on the driver's report, the authorities recovered Father Popieluszko's body from a reservoir. Three security police officers were arrested and, according to the government, confessed to having abducted the priest, strangled him and thrown him into the water.

The killing plunged the country into mourning. The complexity of the secret police sent shudders through the party and the government. A new opposition of indeterminate character and scope had apparently arisen in the very center of power in Poland, the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Within the general's inner councils, hopes of an uninterrupted process of normalization were clearly dashed. The official reaction was that the ultimate targets of the plot of the murder were the government and its liberalizing policies, and this viewpoint has been accepted by most Poles.

By killing the outspoken and widely popular priest, the conspirators, according to sources close to General Jaruzelski, had hoped to provoke disorder throughout the land. They had supposedly counted on rioting and on harsh government response.

Renewed turmoil would derail General Jaruzelski's program and give the upper hand to the hard-liners, who had been lying low. Some of those hard-liners are believed to have a network of "old boys" that reaches deep into the security apparatus.

The chief government spokesman, Jerzy Urban, has been promising that the investigation will uncover the instigators of the plot, but the three men charged with the crime are said to have revealed little under questioning. According to one top government official, they have been conducting themselves with "confident arrogance," suggesting reliance on protectors in high places.

For General Jaruzelski and his top officials, there is a pressing need to explain who conceived and abetted the murder. At the same

time, the government cannot afford to contribute to any further disaffection within the police apparatus on which totalitarian rule depends.

WHILE the general struggles with his dilemma, the political consequences of Father Popieluszko's martyrdom continue to grow. The profound shock of the event has revitalized the movement around the faded banners of Solidarity.

During the summer, in their role as moderators of political conflict, the higher personages of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland had appeared to put some distance between themselves and some of Solidarity's diarchic militants. But now links between the church and Solidarity are being reformed.

All this alarms the government even further. The party has ordered that the Popieluszko case be discussed at a party plenum to be held shortly. There is talk that General Jaruzelski may use the occasion to fix responsibilities and draw the necessary consequences, and that some heads will roll. But this only leads to other questions.

Considering General Jaruzelski's dependence on the internal security organization — and considering the signs of some sympathy in Moscow for some members of the Polish hard-line bloc — can any purge ordered by him be expected to reach high enough to convince the public of his good faith? And, if not, will halfway measures be enough to safeguard the small gains in public confidence he won earlier this year with his amnesty?

At the recent Warsaw dinner-party discussion of how General Jaruzelski would go down in Polish history, one of the Polish guests, who admitted to a cordial dislike for the general, observed that the issue was interesting but irrelevant.

The question implicit in the debate was whether General Jaruzelski is the kind of man who would stand up for Poland's interests or the type of politician who is ready to bow to the dictates of his Soviet overlords. "But this," the guest said, "presumes that victory or defeat is possible in Poland, whereas all we can have is a stalemate."

"I know how this will end, and so does everybody else," he continued. "They will get some of those who are responsible inside the police, but not all of them, because they can't. Society will become further estranged from the regime, but powerless to do anything definitive."

"The general will have won within the party for the time being. But if you win in the party, you cannot win in the nation. Perhaps he will even step down as first secretary, because the Soviets don't like military men at the top. But he will retain control at least until the next promotion. The wheel keeps turning."

A woman who has known General Jaruzelski for years was kinder to him. Puppet or patriot? "It will be," she said, "a question for historians for years to come."

Swinging Pendulum:
The Rightists in France
Love Reagan's AmericaBy Alison Humes
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — The French are fascinated by America these days. The newsweeklies *Le Point* and *L'Express* have run cover stories on what is seen as a newly strong and confident United States. Rightist opposition newspapers fall all over themselves writing editorial tributes to Ronald Reagan and Milton Friedman, and the leftist *Le Nouvel Observateur* has written admiringly of America's entrepreneurial spirit and its democratic values of cultural pluralism and egalitarianism.

Paris Match avidly covers the Reagan family, and *Le Figaro*'s magazine has treated its readers to a six-page color spread on the New York businesswoman, chic even in the current fashion of wearing a conservative suit and running shoes in the street.

The tone of these articles might surprise a reader who remembers France 20 or 30 years ago, considered then the most anti-American of European countries. Even as recently as the day after the Reagan-Carter debate in 1980, the rightist *Le Quotidien* cried: "Reagan? We've never had that sort of actor in France. ... Carter? Nothing could be worse." Now, however, 44 percent of the French consider themselves pro-American; only 15 percent still think of themselves as anti-American.

In fact, the French currently think more highly of the United States than do either the West Germans or the British. When asked in 1953 where they would like to live if they had to leave France, Frenchmen preferred Canada; these days the United States is more popular, particularly among those 18 to 24 years old.

THESE figures were cited last week at a conference convened to discuss the causes of French anti-Americanism, and what the current change in attitudes may mean. The two-day conference, held at Reims Hall by the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, brought together historians and intellectuals, journalists, diplomats and foreign-policy analysts.

Among the participants were professors Robert Paxton of Columbia University and Theodore Zeldin of St. Anthony's College, Oxford University, the sociologist Michel Crozier, the director of the Institut Français des Relations Internationales, Thierry de Montbrial, and the French writer Guy Sorman.

Although participants spoke from many different points of view, a fairly coherent picture emerged: Anti-Americanism grew in large part from France's deep belief in itself as a great power at a time its influence was diminishing. In the 1950s and '60s, the French felt their independence threatened by U.S. economic and cultural power, and strongly resisted U.S. technology.

Michel Winock, from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, quoted a French writer's impressions of the United States just after the war: The man was horrified to find that having a drink during the intermission of "Oklahoma!" meant standing in line in front of a water cooler, a far cry from the red wine and conviviality of the French bistro.

There was a general feeling among Frenchmen of all political persuasions just after the war that the French way of life had to be defended against encroaching American commercialism and standardization.

This feeling found its expression in Charles de Gaulle's policy that sought to keep France out-

side the orbit of either of the superpowers. As the United States was economically and militarily more powerful than the Soviet Union, France needed to tilt in the latter's direction to keep its independent footing.

The French perceived the Soviet Union as more committed to world peace, and the United States as more threatening and bellicose — attitudes reinforced by the Cold War and the Vietnam War. The French insistence on independence allowed de Gaulle to withdraw from the military wing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the 1960s and to develop the country's own defense, including the nuclear force de frappe.

JEAN-MARIE DOMENACH, former editor of *Esprit* and now a professor at the Ecole Polytechnique, pointed out that part of the reason for French intellectuals' dislike of the United States is that, because many of them were denied visas, they could not get first-hand experience of American life. He told a story about seeing Yves Montand in the United States while Mr. Montand was making a movie with Marilyn Monroe. "L'Humanité lied to us," declared Mr. Montand. "Everybody has a car here!"

The anti-American consensus of intellectuals, Gaullists and Communists began to crumble in the 1970s. Growing Soviet aggression, as seen in Africa and in the invasion of Afghanistan, and what Jacques Rupnik, a specialist in Eastern Europe, explained as the "Solzhenitsyn effect" and the belated discovery by the intellectuals and the public at large of the Gulag led to strong criticism of the Soviet Union. The percentage of Frenchmen who believe the Soviet Union sincerely desires peace dropped to 24 percent after the intervention in Afghanistan from 38 percent in 1975.

At the same time as attitudes toward the Soviet Union were changing, there was a shift in French evaluation of France's self-image and role in world affairs. In contrast to the obsession in the '60s with French glory, only 23 percent of the French still think of their nation as a leading world power. The majority, 64 percent, think France more appropriately is ranked as a middle-sized power.

Faced with mounting Soviet military strength, the French can now more easily take on a cooperative role in the Western bloc and so consolidate their alliance with the United States.

IT is an odd fact of contemporary French politics that the Gaullist party, *Rassemblement pour la République*, is the most pro-American of the political parties. Over the past two years, French conservatives have wholeheartedly embraced Mr. Reagan's economic policies as the best way out of France's own crisis and have tried to capture the spirit of Mr. Reagan's America.

The American conservative movement, with its emphasis on cutting back the state to promote growth and returning to old-fashioned morality, corresponds to the revival of *libéralisme*, or 19th-century liberal theory, among the French right.

At the conference, Mr. Sorman, the author of "La Révolution Conservatrice Américaine" and "La Solution Libérale," and one of the most visible popularizers of Reaganism in France, said that French Reaganophilia is a rejection of egalitarianism and of the secularization of society. Growth is the result of intervention by elites, and this celebration of elites pleases the French, at least those of the right.



The French opposition sees in Reaganism a model that promotes its beliefs in Social Darwinism and traditional hierarchy. Jacques Chirac, the mayor of Paris and the leader of the RPR, recently called for the abolition of the abortion laws because this would increase the native French birthrate.

Even Jean-Marie Le Pen, the extreme rightist leader of the National Front, proclaims, "My model is Reagan," in a *Figaro* magazine headline above a photo of Mr. Le Pen dancing on a rock 'n' roll with one of his daughters. Conservatives have found in the apparent success of Reagan's economic policies a useful club for attacking the beleaguered Socialist government.

But even the Socialists themselves do not consider their policies anti-American. Modernism and technology no longer conjure up visions of dehumanizing automation but of growth and economic influence. President François Mitterrand is infatuated with the wonders of California's Silicon Valley and wants to ensure his country's prosperity by bringing France into the information age, along with the United States and Japan. As Mr. Crozier commented, the French go to the United States to discover an image of their own future.

THE Mitterrand government also has undertaken a significant rapprochement with the United States in terms of defense; the Socialists have proved more sympathetic to the Russians than any post-war French administration. Mr. de Montbrial invoked the *principe de Richelieu* to explain this: Richelieu observed in his dealings with the Protestants that when an astute strategist makes an alliance with a domestic opponent, he distances himself from its external counterpart, and vice versa. The Socialists, having come to power with the French Communists, have found it expedi-

ent to distance themselves from the Soviet Union.

In abandoning the Gaullist hope for France as a great power and in coming to recognize itself as a middle-size power in the Western bloc, France is reassessing its role in the Atlantic alliance. Ironically, the increased ease of French-American relations is in some part thanks to de Gaulle, who insisted that there be no American troops on French soil. The French thus do not have the strong peace movement and anti-Americanism that deployment of U.S. missiles have engendered in West Germany and Britain.

Several participants noted that this new regard for the United States was not based on any real knowledge of what makes the country tick. Nicole Bernheim of the newspaper *Le Monde* pointed out that when French journalists travel to the United States, they usually get caught up in Washington's social and political whirl and never see much else of the country; Mr. Sorman acknowledged that French Reaganophiles don't fully understand what Reaganism means in the American context; Mr. de Montbrial commented that pro- and anti-Americanism were to a large extent rhetorical and meant for internal consumption.

The consensus of the conference was that the Reagan administration is particularly adept at promoting itself and its version of America in clear, powerful images. At a time of domestic uncertainty, France finds these images convenient. But all images of the United States have been and will continue to be primarily useful to France as metaphors in its domestic debates about its own identity. As John Maresca, minister counselor at the U.S. Embassy, said at the end of the conference, France is "purely and simply a country that is in the process of following its own interests."

Electronic Bloodhounds
Dog U.S. College AlumniBy Bruce Horowitz
Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — A University of California, Los Angeles, alumnus, so tired of being dogged for donations, finally wrote his alma mater that he had died.

For a while, the trick worked. The school's alumni association wiped him off its mailing list and for months he did not hear from the university.

Then, the basketball season started. University computers, informed of his reported demise, canceled his coveted season tickets. That was enough to raise the alumnus from the dead.

"We got a call from a 'dead' man asking where his tickets were," recalled James V. Ohlemeyer, UCLA's assistant vice chancellor for alumni relations.

UCLA alumni donated the lion's share of the \$63 million the school raised last year. Of 310,000 living alumni, only 60,000 have not been located by the school's computers.

At the more than 3,000 colleges and universities around the United States, alumni fund-raising has become big business. In 1983, alumni gave more than \$1.2 billion to their schools, the single largest share of the \$5.2 billion raised from all sources, according to the Council for Financial Aid to Education. Alumni giving eclipsed the \$1.1 billion contributed by private corporations.

In the last few months, during football season, when the college spirit is flying high, most schools have been kicking off their annual fund-raising campaigns.

WITH the aid of computers, they are turning the hunt for alumni funds into highly sophisticated information-gathering efforts that are on a par with the work of the most diligent credit agency. Few alumni realize it, but in many cases the old alma mater knows more about a person's finances than his bank.

"I can look at my screen and see who gave what last year, if their company matched their donations and exactly how much they've given since they left school," said Henry Eberhardt, alumni director at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.

Computers at Columbia University in New York can quickly tell a former Sigma Chi from a Beta Theta Pi. At the University of California, Berkeley, personal interests are detailed in computer files so that a former Biology Club student can be singled out when it comes time to raise money for a new science lab.

So detailed can the snooping get, that one college's computers even keep track of the names of alumni family pets. The reasoning: You just can't know too much about a potential donor.

"This is not something sinister," said Daniel White, director of alumni relations at Princeton University, of his school's use of computers to solicit funds from graduates. "It is just a matter of working hard to keep track of all our alumni."

COMPUTERS are only part of the fund-raising arsenal. At Colorado State University, for example, alumni donors are tempted by offers of free Scandinavian cruises. Iowa State University and Kansas State University offer free life insurance policies. And at UCLA, key chains are handed out to graduating students who supply forwarding addresses to the alumni association.

Private schools are much more effective than public schools at getting money out of

alumni; on average, they get contributions from twice as many of their former students.

But whether private or public, when it comes to alumni fund-raising, one school stands out. Dartmouth College consistently tops the list of schools with the largest percentage of contributing alumni. Last year, it received money from 66 percent of its graduates.

That was well ahead of the No. 2 school, Princeton, which got donations from 50 percent of its former student body last year. Michigan, a state university, was next with 40 percent; then Yale, with 39.8 percent, and Harvard, 36.7 percent.

Tops among the California schools was Stanford, with 31.4 percent, followed closely by the University of Southern California, 29.3 percent. Well down the list was UCLA, at 20.5 percent. UC Berkeley had an especially bad year, getting funds from less than 6 percent of its alumni.

College fund-raisers say that Dartmouth's secret has been to instill a sense of loyalty in its students from the first day a freshman walks on campus. The school's admissions brochure takes great pains to point out that alumni giving is the institution's life blood.

To help solicit funds, Dartmouth has named about 4,000 "class agents," alumni who are assigned names of former classmates to call for donations.

"Sure, Dartmouth is the envy of everybody," said a West Coast fund-raiser who asked not to be identified. "But Dartmouth is kind of stuck out there in New Hampshire all by itself. It is a very inward-focused place."

DARTMOUTH uses another device to gain contributions from its alumni. The school tells graduates that their donations are needed to cover the total cost of educating them. "We tell them that they only paid for half their education," Mr. Eberhardt said. Although Dartmouth's annual tuition, room and board costs average about \$14,000 a student, the cost to the university is about twice that amount, he said.

Despite the barrage of hard-sell techniques, alumni find many ways to say no to their alma maters' requests. Colorado State saves letters written by disgruntled alumni and answers each one.

An engineering graduate angrily blamed the university for his underemployment since graduation. "The only job I've had is as a farm laborer at \$4 an hour," he said in his letter. "This is the lowest-paying job I've had since 1965, when I was a dishwasher. Perhaps you would consent to removing me from your solicitations list?"

But not all the Colorado State letters are from angry nonpayers. Take Mike Rosser, a 1964 political science graduate who has not only given thousands to the school but recently took out a life insurance policy that will pay the school \$10,000 when he dies.

"I was a bottom-of-the-heap student," he wrote, "and frankly, I got a lot more out of the university than I put into it." Now, Mr. Rosser said, "I want to put something back."

It turns out that, in most instances, alumni who do not want to be bothered by their alma maters need not take the extreme step of the UCLA alumnus who convinced the university's computer that he had died. Most schools will honor written requests by alumni not to be bothered; few alumni, however, take the time to compose such requests.

"We're not here to terrorize people," said the UCLA assistant vice chancellor. "If someone says not to bother them, we won't." Otherwise, odds are that a graduate will be tracked down until the day the school's computer decides he is dead.

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ARTS / LEISURE

Hall's 'Coriolanus' Is a Feast

By Sheridan Morley

LONDON—Though it is not, as some of my colleagues would have you believe, the greatest Shakespearean thing ever to have happened at the National Theatre (does nobody now recall the Olivier "Othello," or the Miller "Merchant"?) there is no doubt that the new Ian McKellen "Coriolanus" is far and away the best Shakespearean thing to have happened at the National in Peter Hall's time.

Sir Peter is no stranger to the play: He made his name with it at Stratford a quarter of a century ago, in a production that ended with Olivier hanging by his heels 20 feet above the stage, an image of sudden death so powerful and so eternally haunting that the few random gunshots at the end of the present production seem, even after all this time, something of an anticlimax.

It also has to be said of this production that McKellen, classically magnificent as ever, lacks something of the sexual charisma brought to the role by Alan Howard in the last Royal Shakespeare Company revival five years ago. Further, the thrill of the first two hours is oddly lacking in the final and most difficult hour, so the audience leaves at intermission on a high that is just not there at the close.

Yet these are minor complaints about a major achievement. Hall, in launching the second-phase National of five separate companies, has mercifully abandoned the masks and operatic excesses of his recent work and gone back to what he did best at Stratford years ago, complete with the kind of sandpit that he used in his first "Troilus"; it now forms the central arena.

Around it are ranged members of the audience who double as the crowd, forming at one and the same time a mob now threatening, now docile, and a forum of worthy senators. Into their midst comes McKellen, dressed at first like Edward VIII about to demand popular support in return for nothing but arrogance and a sense of the blood royal.

Half a play later he turns up outside the gates of Antium in a trench coat, looking like a Warner Bros. detective out for vengeance on the mean streets of an enemy city. Both these images work well enough, as do countless others; Hall's production is a feast for the eyes and ears, with a set (by John Bury) and a level of verse-speaking that at last bring the National up to Barbian standards in Shakespeare, and not before time.

McKellen makes the play's fascism both attractive and easily understandable, but Hall's achievement has also been to give us, in David Ryall's tribute and in Greg Hicks's surprisingly young Audius, rivals of considerable subtlety

and power, while bringing back Irene Worth as a Volturna of classical Greek strength and tragedy. The result is a political thriller of spectacular and splendid tension, one that overcomes all the usual

THE LONDON STAGE

problems of modern dress and audience walkabouts to bring this great play back into focus as a timeless masterpiece about power and public relations.

Christmas treats have been remarkably few and far between this winter. At the Lyric Hammersmith, "The Wiz" is nothing more than a tacky black rerun of "The Wizard of Oz," so shakily constructed that on screen not even the combined artistic and commercial power of Diana Ross, Michael Jackson and Lena Horne could save it from instant oblivion. At Hammersmith a considerably less starry cast does not do much better.

A so-so score by the all-too-aptly-named Charlie Smalls might just about get by if William Brown's book could come up with anything better than a shift of place and skin color. Oz has now become New York, the lion is a baseball hero and that's about it: "The Wiz" is to "The Wizard of Oz" what "Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat" is to the Bible — a childish mockery of one small part of a vastly more complex whole. There is nothing in Peter James's oddly undynamic and uncharacteristically listless staging to indicate why he thought the whole project worthwhile. The last curtain call is rightly taken by the lights, which appear to be the only thing switched on here.

Talking of dire Christmas treats, "The Secret Diary of Adrian Mole" at Wyndham's is an amazingly tawdry attempt to stage Sue Townsend's surprising best seller. If you thought there was no more to be said about disgruntled teen-agers, Townsend's book sales are proof enough that there is always room for the reworking of a winning formula.

If the reports of her marathon hardback earnings are to be believed, it would surely have made sense, in the name of her own reputation, for the author to have invested some of the profits in a score, cast, director and set capable of bringing "Adrian" to West End audiences in less appalling shape. The only thing worse than the numbers in this Howard and Blackley score is the way they have been choreographed, and some of the performances in Mark Warman's production would be unacceptable in precisely the kind of backstreet amateur dramatic society that Adrian will doubtless be joining in

future installments of the dread diary.

I can, however, end on a note of seasonal cheer and goodwill: On the small studio stage of the Lyric Hammersmith, "Feiffer's America" is an utter and total delight. Essentially a revue anthology of the cartoon captions of the great Jules, it gets us through seven U.S. presidencies, from Ike taking headline leaps into verbal deadlock to Reagan introducing us to a geriatric movie America slowly sinking into golden ponds.

Along the way we get Kennedy representing youth and a good head of hair, LBJ killing for votes, Nixon "the Mozart of mediocrity" and Gerald Ford not so much a president as an accident. Because Feiffer is a dramatist and a screenwriter as well as the best of America's cartoonists, these sketches from U.S. political life over the last 30 years add up to a devastating attack on the Washington world. They are brilliantly played by a cast headed by David Healy, Ed Bishop and Peter Whitman, while around them dances Lynn Seymour as the ever hopeful, ever crushed spirit of spring.



Editor Pew, left, publisher Archibald M. Brown Jr. of The American West.

Magazine Gives Voice to America's 'Real' West

By Iver Peterson

New York Times Service

TUCSON, Arizona—Andrew Weil, a Harvard-trained physician who is the author of several books on alternatives to standard medicine, was asked whether he wanted to be called "doctor" or "mister."

"I don't give a hoot," he said, smiling through his beard. "This is the West."

This brought a yell from Thomas W. Pew Jr., the editor and principal owner of The American West magazine. "That," he said, "is exactly what I've been trying to explain. This is the West, and all that doesn't matter."

Pew has spent the last four years turning The American West, published every two months, into one of the fastest-growing magazines in the country on the strength of its instinct about what is and is not The West, with a capital "T."

The magazine's mix of history, art, fiction and current events reflects a culture its editors believe is emerging. They see it in the lives and values of the hundreds of thousands of mostly young men and women who have come west in the past decade. Theirs are values that emphasize outdoor life, a fascination with the history of the West and an interest in an artistic tradition that draws its force from open spaces and mountain vistas.

It is an approach that, Pew argues, avoids the West Coast's pre-

occupation with consumption and status, or the tendency of some Eastern editors and publishers to treat the region as an exotic and wild but ultimately unimportant expanse between Chicago and Los Angeles. Instead, they say, the broader West is a rich and fast-growing region in search of its own voice in writing and the arts.

"I came out here as a free-lance to write about the West," said Pew, "and it was always a hard sell to get anything published back East, because the editors were so ignorant. They'd say, 'Now, where is this Idaho? Is it near Arizona?'"

"So," he continued, "my delight in getting ahead of American West is that, O.K., now we have a chance to write in our own voice, a new voice."

Weil is on the medical school faculty at the University of Arizona in Tucson, and is the author of "The Natural Mind" and "Health and Healing," among other books. He agreed with Pew.

"When Easterners write about the West, there is an element of writing about a foreign country, looking at the West like a natural history project," he said. "The thing about American West magazine is that there isn't that element. It's more like a family album."

The magazine, Pew noted, avoided advocacy on the many choices over water, land use and energy that face the growing West. Other publications do that well enough, he said.

"We celebrate the West, but we don't have to go around explaining it to our readers," Pew said. He consciously dropped the more academic approach of predecessors on the magazine whose descriptions of events were surrounded with context and historical analogies. It was a decision that has some of the original subscribers grumbling that The American West has handled the region too popularly, too lightly.

Recently for example, the magazine published a firsthand account of life with Montana grizzly bears by Douglas Peacock that deliberately deleted discussion of the controversial use of tranquilizers to control the animals.

In 1980 Pew and a handful of other investors took over the magazine from the Buffalo Bill Memorial Association, a Wyoming historical foundation that could not afford to continue it.

After Rocky Mountain Magazine and Desert magazine ceased publication in recent years, The American West has been left as the only popular, regionwide publication to seek out the elusive qualities of purely Western thought that Pew and Weil described.

In the process, the publication's circulation has risen from the 12,000 before the investors took over, to nearly 150,000. This puts The American West among the 12 fastest-growing magazines of the past four years, according to the Magazine Publishers Association.

Budapest Musical Life in Transition

By Andrew Clark

International Herald Tribune

BUDAPEST—The reopening of the State Opera House after an expensive renovation and modernization program was to have provided a major boost to cultural life here, but it has been overshadowed by the death earlier this year of the conductor Janos Ferencsik at age 77. This marked the end of an era in Hungarian musical life, for Ferencsik was one of the few remaining conductors of the old school. He learned his craft by working his way through the repertoire in the orchestra pit, was a musical assistant at Bayreuth in the early 1930s, became a close friend of the composer Zoltan Kodaly and directed his country's prestige ensemble, the Hungarian State Philharmonic Orchestra, for 30 years.

So, in spite of the pride felt locally over the restoration of one of the country's cultural jewels (at a cost of more than \$27 million), the musical atmosphere in the Hungarian capital is one of transition rather than renewal. The authorities have decided not to appoint a successor to Ferencsik at the Philharmonic. The two-year-old production of "Parsifal" has been dropped from the repertoire because no Hungarian-based conductor has stepped forward to take over what was regarded as Ferencsik's preserve. And the State Opera administration has run into a series of technical and organizational hitches that have taken some of the surface glitter off the restoration of the theater, built 100 years ago.

The theater was closed at the end of the 1970s because the creaking backstage facilities were considered a safety hazard. The new machinery appears to have been used by its East German manufacturers as a trial run for Dresden's reconstructed Semper opera house, which is due to be reopened in February. The stage turntable made too much noise when it was tested earlier this year, and an Austrian company was commissioned to eliminate the defects. Such delays meant the theater could not mount a new production to coincide with the reopening; instead it has hauled out a mixed bag of older productions that for the past four years have been shown at the city's badly equipped second opera auditorium, the Erkel Theater. The State Opera announced a new staging of "Eu-

gene Onegin" in the belief that technical problems were now being overcome. Then Soviet authorities, without explanation, canceled permission for the Bolshoi conductor Yuri Simonov to appear as the production's music director. Although a local replacement was found, standards of orchestral playing in Budapest's two theater pits are badly in need of the fresh impetus that a guest conductor could provide.

There are more promising signs on the concert platform, where in recent years a young generation of Hungarian soloists has developed a strong reputation at home and abroad, and musicians based in the West have regularly been welcomed in Budapest. The Hungarian authorities also appear to have developed an unusually conciliatory policy toward Hungarian émigrés. Soloists such as the pianist Peter Frankl, now living in London, and conductors such as Joo Arpad, now a U.S. citizen, are invited frequently. The Philharmonic's administrative director, Janos Kovacs, says the only criteria for foreign-based musicians are artistic ability and a realistic expectation of the kind of fee an East-bloc country can afford.

Although Hungarian orchestras and opera companies get up to two-thirds of their budget from the government, the scope of their activity is automatically limited by an obligation to keep ticket prices down. A visitor to Budapest has to pay only the equivalent of about \$2 for a full opera or a first-class concert. Tickets for Leonard Bernstein's visit with the Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra last year were considered exceptionally expensive at triple that amount.

Local music critics are hoping that the artistic momentum of the city's musical life will be increased in coming months by the premiere of a new opera by the Hungarian composer Attila Bozay, and by the visits of two famous conductors—Antal Dorati and Sir Georg Solti, both of whom were born in Hungary and served their musical apprenticeship in the pit of the State Opera. Dorati, an American citizen since 1947, is to conduct a new production of "Fidelio" during Budapest's Spring Festival. Solti, now a British citizen, is to conduct a concert in the opera house's subscription series, beginning with the overture to "The Marriage of Figaro," the opera with which he made his Budapest debut more than 50 years ago.

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PARIS SUBURBS LE COQ de la MAISON BLANCHE 37 Bd. Jean-Jaures, Saint-Ouen, 254/01.23. 10 miles from Paris. Specializes in coq au vin, jambon persillé. Seasonal menu. 220/220 ft.	LONDON W2 RENZO'S Indian restaurant and cafe. 20 Regency W.C. Tel: 405.9748. 123 pm. 6-12 pm. Sunday in Indian Cuisine food. Wine bar on ground floor.	METHUSELAH'S BRASSERIE and wine bar. 29 Victoria Street, Portico Square. Tel: 222.0424. "A cellar full of wine, a kitchen full of ideas." Mon-Fri, and Sunday lunch.
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"What the market is telling us is the trend in interest rates will probably continue," said William LeFevre of Purcell, Graham & Co. He said a cut in the discount rate from the present 8½ percent was probably take place in the "not too distant future."

He said based on prior year-end rallies, a rise of 100 points can be expected. Measuring the start of the rally from 1.163 on the Dow on Dec. 7, the blue-chip barometer could hit 1,260 sometime in January, Mr. LeFevre said.

He said short sellers, who sell stock they do not own in hopes the market will fall, were probably scrambling to cover their positions.

AT&T was the most active NYSE-listed issue, up ¼ to 18½.

IBM was second, jumping ¼ to 123½.

Phillips Petroleum, fighting a takeover bid by Messers Petroleum, was third, down ¼ to 52½.

General Corp. added ½ to 35½. A block of 1,459,900 traded at 35.

Walt Disney Productions rose 1¼ to 60½. A block of 896,900 shares traded at 58½.

Commonwealth Edison climbed 1¼ to 28½. A block of 620,000 shares traded at 28. Southern California Edison gained 1 to 24.

Autos were stronger, with General Motors rising 1½ to 77½, Ford 1¼ to 46½ and Chrysler 1¼ to 32.

Some of the best gains were in the technology sector, with Digital Equipment jumping 2¼ to 108½. Texas Instruments 5 to 118½, Data General 4½ to 58½, Cray Research 2½ to 50½ and Varian 2¼ to 38½.

Union Carbide, which lost 2¼ Monday, re-

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BUSINESS ROUNDUP

VW Posts Profit on 12% Rise in Sales

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WOLFSBURG, West Germany — The Volkswagen group posted a profit in 1984 following two years of losses, with strong sales by Volkswagenwerk AG of West Germany, and Audi and VW of the United States spearheading the recovery, the automaker said Tuesday.

The company did not disclose profit figures or say whether the return to profitability meant it would resume paying an annual dividend. VW last paid a dividend of five Deutsche marks (\$1.66) a share in 1981.

However, stock market analysts at several major West German banks predicted a restored dividend for 1984 following the company's recovery.

According to VW's preliminary 1984 figures, group sales rose 12 percent to 45 billion DM from 40 billion DM a year ago.

VW said the gain is based "predominantly on sales developments

at Volkswagen AG, Audi AG and Volkswagen of America." Sales at VW's South American subsidiary also showed a "positive trend" during the year.

Sales at the West German parent company rose 15 percent, to a new

West German Shipyard Wins U.S. Liner Work

BONN — The Economics Ministry in Bonn said Tuesday that a West German shipyard will receive a 364-million Deutsche mark (\$117.8-million) export guarantee to enable it to convert the liner SS United States into a cruise ship.

In September, United States Cruises, based in Seattle, placed a 400-million DM order with the yard, Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft, to convert the 52,000-ton vessel into a cruise ship for 1,500 passengers. The vessel, which made its maiden voyage in 1952, has been idled in a U.S. shipyard since 1969.

record exceeding 30 billion DM. Audi's sales rose 9 percent in 1984, to 9 billion DM.

Foreign sales accounted for 58 percent of the group's total sales in 1984, an increase of 51 percent from 1983. U.S. sales totaled more than 10 billion DM during the year, according to VW.

Worldwide delivery of Volkswagen and Audi models to customers is likely to total 2.6 million automobiles in 1984, up 2.6 percent from 1983, the statement said. Deliveries of Volkswagen and Audi models in West Germany almost reached last year's 722,000, with the Golf boosting its lead to 11 percent of the new-car market from 9.5 percent.

The company said its Latin American units and office-equipment subsidiary, Triumph-Adler AG, continued to show losses in 1984, although Volkswagen do Brasil and its truck division, Caminhões, saw substantial improvement.

(AP, Reuters)

FCA Sees Losses In 4th Quarter

Los Angeles Times Service

LOS ANGELES — Financial Corp. of America is expected to post losses in the fourth quarter, largely because it has to bolster its loan reserves, according to its chairman and chief executive, William J. Popejoy.

The savings and loans association's effort to bolster reserves reflects a conservative and cautious strategy to provide a cushion against any disclosure in the future of troubled loans. The association's loan-loss reserves directly cut into FCA's earnings.

While the fourth-quarter losses will look bad in comparison to third-quarter profit of \$1.23 million, Mr. Popejoy said Monday he expected FCA's recovery to be sustained. The S&L continues to enjoy a net inflow of deposits.

Beecham to Buy BAT Unit for \$149 Million

LONDON — Beecham Group PLC is to acquire British-American Cosmetics Ltd. from BAT Industries PLC for £125 million (\$148.5 million), Beecham said Tuesday.

British-American Cosmetics has annual sales of over £200 million. The acquisition will approximately double Beecham's interests in this sector.

Beecham, a British drugs and consumer products concern, said the purchase will be partly financed by a share placing amounting to about 4 percent of its issued share capital. These shares will rank for the final dividend for the fiscal year ending March 31.

The U.S. part of the business to be acquired will be paid for in cash from Beecham's resources.

The transaction is expected to be completed by the end of next month. The contribution from BAC is expected to have a small positive effect on Beecham's

per-share earnings in the fiscal year starting April 1.

In a separate statement, BAT Industries said it believes the BAC interests have continued growth potential but would be better placed within a group such as Beecham which is already well established in the cosmetics and fragrance industry.

From BAT's viewpoint, the BAC business would always be relatively small.

Last weekend BAT announced agreed terms for a bid for Hambro Life Assurance Co. of Britain. This followed its acquisition of Eagle Star Holdings PLC early this year.

Beecham said the December 1983 book value of BAC's assets was £59 million outside the United States and \$16 million in the United States.

BAC's main interests consist of the Yardley, Lenthric, Moray, Cyclax, Juvena, Germaine Monteil and Carven cosmetics and fragrance products.

Frontier Air Unit Seeks U.K. Route

United Press International

DENVER — Frontier Horizon, a subsidiary of Frontier Airlines, said it has filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington to acquire Arrow Air's routes to London from Denver and Tampa, Florida.

Under the filing announced Monday, Frontier Horizon would operate three DC-10s on the routes. Service to London from Denver would begin April 1, 1985, and from Tampa on May 15.

GM Offers 7,000 Early Retirement

United Press International

DETROIT — General Motors Corp. is offering early-retirement options to 7,000 salaried employees in plans to transfer Jan. 1 to its new Electronic Data Systems subsidiary.

Workers being transferred to the Dallas-based company have expressed concern over the potential loss of health-care, retirement and other benefits.

More than 4,000 of the workers facing transfer work in Michigan. GM said the early-retirement options are open to its Management Information Systems employees.

It said employees over 58 with at least nine years seniority can elect to be laid off, with some salary and health-care benefits, for up to two years. After that time, they will receive up to half their base pay until age 62, when they will receive regular retirement benefits.

COMPANY NOTES

Ajinomoto Co. of Japan said it

expects the value of its aspartame sales, including exports, to double to 20 billion yen (\$81.6 million) in the year to March 31, compared with last year. Japan's only maker of the artificial sweetener, the company began domestic sales in February under license from G.D. Searle & Co. of the United States.

Bell Group Ltd., a multinational transport and communications concern, said one of its subsidiaries has sold 13.4 million ordinary shares in Elders IXL Ltd., an Australian brewing company, to undisclosed principals of Hill Samuel Australia Ltd.

Cowell, the U.S. railroad concern, said 1984 earnings would approach a record \$500 million in 1984, from \$313 million net in 1983. Revenue in the first three quarters totaled \$2.6 billion, up 13 percent from \$2.3 billion in the comparable 1983 period.

Genstar Corp., the U.S. building materials concern, said it has agreed to sell a 13-percent interest in its California cement operations to Cimenteries CBR SA, a Belgian and Dutch cement producer, for undisclosed terms.

Kronshank AS, the Danish bank, had trading in its shares suspended on the Copenhagen Stock Exchange after the banking supervisory committee said the bank's net capital was not intact because of losses and risky commitments. The bank's management has been changed and four banks have offered guarantees of 500 million kroner (45.5 million) to cover eventual losses.

Ladbroke Group PLC said a subsidiary of Morgan Grenfell, the merchant bank acting in concert with the British concern, bought 9.3 million shares in Comfort Hotels International PLC at 85 pence (\$1.01) each from Intasun Leisure

Group PLC. The shares represent 15 percent of Comfort's ordinary share capital. Ladbroke has offered £70 million for Comfort.

Mesa Petroleum chairman, T. Boone Pickens Jr., filed an invasion of privacy suit against Phillips Petroleum Co., charging the company with conducting a "campaign of harassment" to dissuade him from proceeding with his unfriendly bid. A Wilmington, Delaware judge delayed a ruling on Mesa's \$60-a-share offer for 23 million Phillips shares.

Northeastern International Airways, based in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, said it had laid off about 300 employees after a judge stopped the airline from renting five planes from Braniff Inc. Northeastern said the laid off employees included pilots, flight attendants, mechanics and ticket agents.

This announcement appears as a matter of record only.



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December, 1984

U.S. Credit Markets Finish Higher

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — Credit markets closed sharply higher Tuesday, reflecting a belief on the part of investors that a cut in the Federal Reserve Board's discount rate is in the offing and that the policy-making Federal Open Market Committee is prepared to take another easing step.

The federal funds rate, the interest on overnight loans between banks, fell to a low of 5 percent from the day's high of 7 percent and Monday's daily average of 7.83 percent.

The closely watched 11 1/4-percent U.S. government bond of 2014 rose a point, closing at 103-3/16.

The drop in the federal funds rate raised expectations that the Fed will cut the discount rate, the interest on its loans to banking institutions, which currently stands at 8 1/2 percent.

The Open Market Committee was meeting in Washington Tuesday to review monetary strategy for the next few weeks.

"I think the Fed has actively encouraged the lower funds rate," said Harold Nathan of Wells Fargo Bank. "There is a very good chance of a discount-rate cut soon."

The Fed cut the discount rate to 8 1/2 percent from 9 percent on Nov. 21 to a further effort to stimulate growth in the economy and money supply, economists noted.

But recent evidence of the impact of the Fed's easing has been ambiguous at best. And with the

2 More Banks Cut U.S. Prime

Reuters

NEW YORK — Bankers Trust Co. of the United States said Tuesday it lowered its prime rate to 10 1/4 percent from 11 1/4 percent, effective immediately.

In Los Angeles, Mitsui Manufacturers Bank also said it cut its prime rate to 10 1/4 percent from 11 1/4 percent.

The banks thus join Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., which Monday became the first bank to lower its prime below 11 percent to the 10 1/4-percent level. Most other major banks are holding their prime at 11 1/4 percent, while Citicorp's Citibank is still at 11 1/4 percent.

dollar still stubbornly strong, inflation in check, and commodity prices falling — as evidenced by gold's fall to a 2 1/2-year low this week — the Fed has apparently decided that it should be erring on the side of more accommodation rather than less.

"I really think they're pushing on the pedal," said William Sullivan of Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. in a reference to the Fed.

By declining to drain reserves on Friday and Monday, when the fed-

eral funds rate was trading well below the 8 1/4-percent discount rate, the Fed appears to be signaling its approval of lower interest rates, Mr. Sullivan and others said.

Mr. Sullivan said the main motives for the Fed's latest easing might be knowledge that the flash forecast due Wednesday of fourth-quarter gross national product will show very weak growth, or that the expected bulge in Thursday's M-1 money supply will not materialize.

Maria Ramirez of Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc. also said the Fed is worried about the enduring strength of the dollar and about the financial strains that further weakness in oil prices could create.

She added: "If the price of energy doesn't hold up, we could have tremendous problems with nonperforming bank loans to energy producers."

Meanwhile, prices on long-term Treasury bonds shot up 3/4 point, or 7.50 for each \$1,000 in face value. Yields on 30-year Treasury bonds slipped to 11.38 percent in the early going from 11.47 percent late Monday.

In the secondary market for Treasury bonds, prices of short-term governments rose 1/4 point to 3/4 point, intermediate maturities were up 1/2 point to 3/4 point and long-term issues rose 3/4 point, according to the investment firm of Salomon Brothers Inc.

In corporate trading, industrials and utilities rose 3/4 point in light trading. (AP, Reuters)

For ABC, a Year of Dashed Hopes

(Continued from Page 9)

for the same period last year, could cost the company \$100 million in revenues.

Most analysts expect ABC to end 1984 with record revenues of \$3.7 billion and income of \$195 million, or \$6.65 a share. But they are not sanguine about the future.

"Between the revenue shortfall and the higher program development costs necessary to mount a return, pretax income could be penalized by as much as \$1.65 a share — not in 1985 but in the following year," said David Lowndes, an analyst with Wertheim & Co.

The extent of ABC's slippage took the industry by surprise.

Analysts say the network's worst mistake was the shift away from comic programs appealing to young families. In the mid-1970s, Mr. Pierce, then president of ABC Television, and Fred Silverman, his programming chief at the time, used such shows as "Happy Days," "Laverne and Shirley" and "Welcome Back, Kotter" to vault ABC from third place to first in the ratings.

Although CBS recaptured the prime time lead in 1980, ABC continued to have the biggest audience share among 18-to-49-year-olds. Advertisers pay premiums for that group. Consequently, over the past seven years ABC has consistently earned the highest advertising revenues of the networks. Indeed, ABC's advertising is expected to hit a record \$2.7 billion this year.

But in devising this season's prime-time schedule, ABC zeroed in on adults in their 20s and 30s. The network veered away from situation comedies in the early evening on the ground that few recent comedies had emerged as hits. Grant Tinker, Mr. Pierce's coun-

terpart at NBC, apparently did not agree. That network, which had been third in the ratings for eight years, picked up the strategy that ABC had discarded. It developed a string of light-hearted adventures and situation comedies. So far this season, NBC has led the ratings in all three categories once dominated by ABC: men and women aged 18 to 49, teenagers and children.

"NBC has done what ABC did in 1976: it has captured the primary audience of kids and teens and carried along the young adults — their parents — with them," said David Poltrack, vice president of research for the CBS Broadcast Group.

ABC is again developing comedies and planning special events for January and beyond. Industry insiders say ABC has relied too heavily on Aaron Spelling, the producer whose programs, including "Dynasty," "The Love Boat" and "Hotel" account for 42 percent of the network's prime-time schedule.

Other producers say Mr. Spelling has let the network push him into a creative rut. "Aaron is a great resource," said one producer, "but he has been following orders. ... He is like a tailor in Hong Kong. He says, 'You want a suit like this, we'll make it.'"

But in devising this season's prime-time schedule, ABC zeroed in on adults in their 20s and 30s. Anthony D. Thomopoulos, president of the ABC Broadcast Group, dismisses the criticism. "Aaron has been with ABC for 14 years," he said. "A majority of his shows are hits."

To offset program development costs, ABC is trying to hold the line elsewhere. It has refused to pay exorbitant fees to license shows. And it recently has eliminated peo-

ple (ABC declines to say how many) throughout the group.

ABC's non-broadcast areas continue to lose money. ABC has more tied up in those areas than either of the other networks.

ABC's Video Enterprises division has fundered on several unsuccessful ventures. A 24-hour cable news channel lost \$25 million before rival Ted Turner, the Atlanta cable entrepreneur, bought it in 1983. And this year Telefirst, which used video cassette recorders in the home to receive and record movies transmitted from ABC television stations, was discontinued after losing \$15 million.

Analysts estimate that ABC's three remaining cable channels — ESPN, a 24-hour sports channel; Lifetime, a health and life-style channel; and Arts and Entertainment, which combines cultural and foreign entertainment — will lose \$25 million this year.

Mr. Pierce said that ABC is having second thoughts about bidding for the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul. "The rights costs would have to come down well below the \$225 million we paid for Los Angeles for us to consider it," he said. The cost of the rights for the Seoul Olympics has been projected at \$750 million to \$1 billion.

For the immediate future, the best news is coming from ABC's radio and publishing divisions. This year the radio group sold less-profitable stations in Detroit and San Francisco and bought a station in Dallas. The division posted estimated profits of \$25 million this year and is expected to earn \$28 million next year.

Profit margins in ABC's publishing division have also improved. This year publishing will yield \$29 million in profits, which is expected to increase to \$39 million next year.



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Dec. 18

NASDAQ National Market Prices

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Made 1¹/₄ million
business flights last year



SPORTS

Sporting Gifts and Their Saddening Caveats

George Best
... Christmas in prison.

International Herald Tribune
LONDON — This Christmas you may give your child an item of sporting equipment. And even if you never harbor any conscious wish to rear a champion, implicit in your choice is belief that the examples and values of sports are wholesome.

Sport, the great leveler? Would we could be sure of that. My own pre-Christmas week includes trying to explain to two very young sons that the behavior of George Best and Jimmy Connors is not typical of games that have elevated them to among the world's celebrated few.

It is not, I insist, the fault of sports if individuals disgrace themselves.

And then I catch myself questioning the truth of that. Best will spend Christmas in prison, the result of drunken driving, assaulting a policeman and jumping bail. Connors got off with a \$2,000 fine after turning a Davis Cup match he was losing into a four-setter display that only John McEnroe could match for its obscenity.

Try as one might to understand — with seasonal compassion — the actions of Best and Connors, it is impossible not to fear for the fabric of their sports.

Of course they have performed gloriously at times, but that does not excuse everything.

Of course they have given of themselves, as most celebrities do, to charities.

Of course they are but two of scores who bear fame, fortune and the occasional invasion of privacy.

Yet we cannot avoid examining the indulgence and leniency of administrators who helped sow seeds that led Best toward his own destruction and Connors to outbursts of anarchy.

There is some justification in a

French newspaper observation that the British empire and referee were somewhat braver in docking game points off Connors in Sweden this week than in Wimbledon last summer.

But still, those officials finally backed down from disqualifying the American whom millions saw crudely and blatantly continuing his abuses after his singles match was over.

He may have apologized privately to the referee, but impressionable children around the world didn't see that.

He may be anxious at having to

do his duty for the United States while his wife expects their second child.

But God knows what percentage of crimes and failures we could all blame on diminished responsibility of impending fatherhood.

By contrast, it had always been claimed that wayward, easily misled stars need family responsibilities to direct them, straight and narrow, toward sporting fulfillment.

Who knows — Connors might have exaggerated his antics in hopes of being sent home, leaving the Davis Cup burden to a replacement and blurring for awhile longer the fact of his own athletic decline.

Best has gone way, way beyond that.

His three-year-old son Calum was mentioned in court on Monday during pleas to reprieve the 12-year-old sentence. Best had wanted, despite being estranged from the boy's mother, to spend Christmas with his son.

The sight of Best — unshaven, disillusioned, afraid — being led to Pentonville Prison cannot have

comforted anyone anywhere in a world where he rightly enjoys the afterglow of moments of artistry given to less than a handful of soccer players throughout history.

It will haunt us on Christmas Day because, as journalists, we earned some corn writing in equal measure of Best's sublime soccer and his brutal, alcoholic nightlife.

Only last weekend, as the 38-year-old fallen idol awaited the prospect of pleading for his liberty, he was photographed at the Mayfair nightclub in the company of glamorous blonde females and filled glasses.

The caption did state that Best had nothing to drink, but nightclub exposure was hardly conducive to persuading a judge that a defendant caught driving with three times the legal alcohol in his bloodstream was as dedicated as he claims to seeking every way humanly possible to breaking his addiction.

Part of Best's plea was that he would submit to a third operation to implant a pellet into his stomach to try to deaden his craving.

Soccer's reputation cannot have helped.

Of the 71 sponsors who advertise on players' shirts in England, 13 are breweries.

And in London, Best's base on and off since he abandoned his gifts in his prime, drunken driving is endemic.

Two Arsenal internationals, Tony Woodcock and Charlie Nicholas, are banned from the road.

West Ham goalie Phil Parkes awaits trial.

And two other players — Alan Sunderland, once more while at Arsenal, and Hungary's Andras Torocsik — have on their consciences serious charges of drunken driving.

Soccer's disciplinary record on that clearly rocks. Parents have to

judge for themselves whether clubs that officially begin to influence boys at 14 are doing enough to stand between players and bars.

Sir Matt Busby, the former Manchester United manager and a legend of velvet-gloved iron discipline, admits in hindsight he was too lenient with George Best. He tried too benignly to talk the boy out of his drinking, as Best came to 16, out of his control.

He lectured the teen-ager. He penalized him sums meaningless to a prodigy straight out of a disturbed Belfast upbringing who found he could outplay and out-earn the game's established stars. Busby even put George under the wing of a caring and down-to-earth landlady.

What he did not do was release the boy to long stints in the reserves when he failed to attend training. What he perhaps could not do was warn off the hangers-on, or curb the media — who put drinks there with one hand and photographed the results with the other.

What Busby does admit is that he found the boy too plausible, too shy and endearing to crack down for his future good.

Ironically, no one from soccer stood up for Best on Monday.

Two Fleet Street writers and a commercial agent did testify to his good character, but Judge Gerald Butler commented: "It must be understood that those who assault police officers must expect immediate custodial sentence."

Out of court, the commercial agent repeated the same accusation that "once again George has suffered because of who he is."

The truth may be the exact opposite, and providing not too many inside Pentonville ask for his autograph and attempt to find ways to help him overcome withdrawal symptoms, he may emerge a wiser man.



A leaping Anders Jarryd and Swedish teammate Stefan Edberg, clinching the Davis Cup.

The Swedes' Feat of Clay

GOTEBORG — Red clay, terra firma for the Swedes, turned out to be quicksand for the Americans in the 1984 Davis Cup tennis final.

"It's absurd to play on a court that's so badly put together, especially against a team as good as they are, because it's got to be fair," said John McEnroe Monday night after he and Peter Fleming lost a cup doubles match for the first time ever.

Anders Jarryd and Stefan Edberg snatched their 14-match streak with a 7-5, 5-7, 6-2, 7-5 victory that gave Sweden an unbeatable 3-0 lead going into Monday's final two singles.

"We played badly, so we lost," said McEnroe. "But," he conceded, "they have a great team on any surface, and they are the best on clay" — the surface chosen by the host team for the series.

Most experts had agreed that the Swedes were unequaled on clay, which is slower than the hard or synthetic surfaces the Americans prefer.

Edberg, 18, was the only man to hold his serve throughout Monday's doubles; twice he was down love-40, but he never wilted.

Fleming served poorly. He double-faulted at several critical junctures, including match point.

The entire U.S. team looked rusty at times. McEnroe had not played for seven weeks and both Fleming and Jimmy Connors came into the final after five-week layoffs. In straight-sets singles

matches Sunday, Mats Wilander whipped Connors and Henrik Sundstrom upset McEnroe.

On Monday night, the Swedes occasionally bent before the serving power of McEnroe, but his 10 aces and the numerous other serves that Jarryd and Edberg barely reached could not make up for Fleming's inconsistent serve and for errors on crucial points by both Americans.

In the second set, Fleming served well and put away returns at the net; it was the only set the United States won in the first three matches, but it did not come easily. McEnroe and Fleming failed on three set points with Edberg serving at 3-5 and McEnroe lost his serve for the first time before Fleming served out the set.

McEnroe tied the third set at 1-all with three aces, but Jarryd held and the Swedes then broke Fleming for 3-1. The Americans lost the next game after leading 0-40. McEnroe held again, but Fleming was broken again after a 40-15 lead.

In the last set the Swedes continued to win key points with hard returns to Fleming's ankles, shots that troubled the 6-foot-5 (1.95-meter) American throughout.

It was the 54th time, the first against Sweden, that the United States had appeared in a cup final. The Americans have won 28 times. Sweden took it for the second time, the first being in 1975 against Czechoslovakia. (AP, NYT)

Devils Deny Gretzky Scoring Record in 5-2 Victory Over Oilers

United Press International
EAST RUTHERFORD, New Jersey — When New Jersey was about to touch bottom in the National Hockey League last year, Wayne Gretzky called it a Mickey Mouse franchise.

But Monday night two animated Devils, Rick Meagher and Chico Resch, helped kick the Edmonton star for the moment. On the verge

of setting the record for the quickest 1,000 points in league history, Gretzky was held to one assist as New Jersey posted a 5-2 victory over the Oilers.

Gretzky entered the game with 998 career points but was held scoreless until late in the second period, when he assisted on a goal by Jari Kurri.

Meagher's job is to check the opposition's big gun, and on Monday he was facing the NHL's biggest.

"I had the butterflies in my stomach all day," Meagher said. "I usually get some rest in the afternoon, but I knew what my job was and I couldn't. I checked Gretzky when I was at Hartford. It's funny, sometimes I'd think I had a good game and look at the score sheet afterwards and he'd have three or four points. No one has to tell me how tough he is."

Gretzky's best earlier chance

came midway through the second period, when he fed Mike Krushelnyski, who veered in alone. But goalie Resch made a fine sick check.

"I didn't think about his record until Kurri scored his goal," said Resch. "I couldn't think of the record, not when you have to stop the best offensive player in the game. I just had to concentrate on him."

Gretzky, in his sixth season, has 388 goals and 611 assists in 423 games. Guy Lafleur of Montreal reached 1,000 points in 720 games, the fastest in league history.

"Getting the 1,000 points is something I'm excited about," Gretzky said. "When I first broke in, they said getting the 1,000 points would prove I belong in the league."

Rich Preston's second-period goal was the winner as the Devils beat Edmonton for the first time since the club moved to New Jersey.

With 1:25 to go, Gretzky threw his stick to deflect a pass and referee Andy Van Hecke awarded New Jersey a penalty shot. Rocky Trotter converted, beating goalie Andy Moog to the glove side to make it 4-2. Kirk Muller added a goal with 46 seconds remaining.

After being held shotless for the game's first seven minutes, New Jersey took a 1-0 lead at 8:58 of the first period when Bob Lorimer's 55-foot slapshot was deflected by

Mel Bridgman through goalie Grant Fuhr's legs.

The Devils made it 2-0 at 11:18 when John MacLean picked off Paul Coffey's blind pass at the Edmonton blue line, skated in on Fuhr and beat him to the stick side.

New Jersey made it 3-0 at 5:38 of the second period when Preston sent in a 20-footer flustering over Fuhr's shoulder. Moog then replaced Fuhr.

Kurri scored the Oilers' first goal at 13:35 of the second period, with Edmonton short-handed, he

stripped Jan Ludvig at the Devil blue line and came in solo on Resch.

The Devils are unbeaten in their last four games, going 3-0-1.

In Monday's only other game, St. Louis edged the Maple Leafs in Toronto, 3-2.

Greg Paslawski scored the tying and winning goals as the Blues ended a six-game streak without a victory.

Paslawski delivered the game-winner at 10:34 of the third period after he skirted the Toronto de-

fense and backhanded a shot that caught the left post and banked behind goalie Rick St. Croix.

On a power play late in the second period, Paslawski squeezed a shot between St. Croix's pads and the post to tie the game, 2-2.

Toronto, with the league's lowest power-play and point total, converted a man-advantage opportunity to open first-period scoring. Rick Vaive put a 25-foot wrist shot through goalie Mike Liut's pads at 5:07. Vaive also tallied at 15:54 of the second period.

SCOREBOARD

World Cup Skiing

WOMEN'S GIANT SLALOM
(At Santa Caterina Valfurva, Italy)
1. Vreni Schneider, Switzerland, 1:21.61
2. Tamara McKinney, U.S., 1:22.07
3. Maria Kiehl, West Germany, 1:22.29
4. Debbie Armstrong, U.S., 1:23.13
5. Marina Kiehl, West Germany, 1:23.21
6. Zsa Zsa Husz, Switzerland, 1:23.88
7. Christine Guenard, France, 1:23.85
8. Katri Sten, West Germany, 1:24.44
9. Eva Twardowska, U.S., 1:24.34
10. Alexandra Gers, West Germany, 1:23.72
11. Sandra Gers, 1:23.44

WOMEN'S OVERALL STANDINGS
1. Kiehl, 78 points
2. Kiehl, 78 points
3. Kiehl, 78 points
4. Kiehl, 78 points
5. Kiehl, 78 points
6. Kiehl, 78 points
7. Kiehl, 78 points
8. Kiehl, 78 points
9. Kiehl, 78 points
10. Kiehl, 78 points

College Results

EAST
Boston St. 106, Marquette 15
Clemson 77, Wake Forest 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45
S. Carolina 84, Clemson 45

Basketball

U.S. College Top 20 Rankings

Record Pts Pts
1. Georgetown (43) 7-0 611
2. Washington 17-0 584
3. Illinois (16-1) 475
4. Memphis (11) 460
5. DePaul (6-1) 391
6. Marquette (11) 355
7. Washington (4-0) 355
8. St. John's (5-1) 312
9. North Carolina (5-0) 286
10. Syracuse (5-0) 190
11. Georgetown (4-1) 188
12. Kansas (7-1) 164
13. Louisville (4-1) 159
14. Indiana (5-0) 119
15. Arizona (5-1) 114
16. St. Louis (5-1) 72
17. N. Carolina (5-1) 68
18. Maryland (7-1) 44
19. Louisville (4-1) 44
20. Michigan (4-0) 40

Hockey

National Hockey League Standings

WALDES CONFERENCE
Patrick Division
Philadelphia 17 8 3 125 84
Washington 16 9 4 124 84
N.Y. Islanders 16 12 1 124 124
Pittsburgh 11 14 3 120 124
New Jersey 10 15 4 120 124
N.Y. Rangers 10 16 4 120 124
Adams Division
Montreal 18 8 4 121 96
Quebec 13 15 5 120 128
Boston 12 15 5 120 97
New York 11 15 5 120 106
Buffalo 11 13 5 119 119
Chicago 15 13 3 121 114
St. Louis 11 15 5 112 110
Detroit 10 17 4 114 112

Hockey

National Hockey League Leaders

Points
Gretzky, Edmonton 94
Kurri, Edmonton 87
MacLean, New Jersey 87
Hewitt, Washington 87
Nelson, Calgary 87
Nelson, Los Angeles 87
Tavel, N.Y. Islanders 87
MacLean, Winnipeg 87
Forsberg, Detroit 87
Goulet, Quebec 87
Sovard, Chicago 87
Dineen, Los Angeles 87
Kerr, Philadelphia 87
Fok, Los Angeles 87
Mellstrom, Minnesota 87
Gardner, Washington 87
MacLean, Calgary 87
Cornejo, Washington 87
Husar, Montreal 87
Power-Play Goals
Kerr, Phil 27
Kurri, Edm 26
N.Y. Rangers (3) 26
Weiss 26
Hartford (1) 26
Smith 26
Hewitt 26
MacLean 26
Nelson 26
Tavel 26
Forsberg 26
Goulet 26
Sovard 26
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